HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

THIRTY-FIVE CENTS

November 13, 1965 Vol. XXV. No. 46

Human Events is published weekly by HUMAN EVENTS, INC., 410 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003 Second class postage paid at Washington, D.C. and other mailing offices.

$12.50 per year

NEWSPAPER

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Oppose Socialized Legal Aid

Three Washington Attorneys Sue Poverty Program

From the Allen-Scott Report

The trouble-racked anti-poverty program is being assailed on a new grievance—right in the national capital itself.

Three Negro attorneys have filed suit against the local anti-poverty agency (United Planning Organization), charging its neighborhood free-legal-service centers are driving them out of business.

Six of these anti-poverty-financed legal centers already are in operation in Washington, and others are contemplated. Manned by three to five full-time attorneys, the centers extend a wide range of legal help—from simple advice to representation in trials and appeals.

In their suit, the three Negro lawyers contend this activity violates the anti-trust laws and ethical canons of the legal profession.

The attorneys are Bruce Harrison, James Myrick and Jerry Luck.

"We are taking on the power structure of Washington," says Harrison. "We know it's going to be a difficult fight, but we are prepared to press our case all the way to the Supreme Court. We feel basic principles are being flouted, and they must be upheld."

High-powered legal talent already is arrayed against them.

Thurman Arnold, one-time head of the Anti-Trust Division, former federal judge and law partner of recently appointed Supreme Court Justice Abe Fortas, is opposing this suit in behalf of the Legal Aid Society (LAS). While not supported by federal funds, the LAS provides free legal service for indigents.

Harrison and his two colleagues are convinced their suit is the forerunner of others throughout the country.

This belief is based on anti-poverty plans to set up neighborhood free-legal-aid centers in every sizable city, particularly those with slum sections. Already such federally financed centers are operating in Buffalo, St. Louis and Los Angeles.

Anti-poverty authorities have grandiose aims in this field.

They are talking of setting up a separate legal aid division, similar to the Job Corps and the Neighborhood Youth Corps, and financing it with a $20-million budget for the remaining eight months of the current fiscal year.

The potential head of this proposed new division already has been brought in—Clinton Bamberger, Baltimore attorney.

Guidelines for the projected nationwide network of legal service centers are in process of drafting. The centers are to be readily accessible to the poor —in the vicinity of low-cost housing developments, business centers, courthouses and jails. Each will be manned by full-time lawyers prepared to handle cases ranging from landlord-tenant disputes, domestic relations, juvenile delinquency, welfare problems, abuse and neglect, etc.

"It is desirable," states one draft guideline, "that representation be provided for organizations of the poor such as credit unions, cooperatives and block clubs. Such representation may include helping such organizations to start, advising them concerning the organization's objectives and representing them in litigation."

Nothing is said about politics—but it's a sure bet that won't be overlooked by the government-paid lawyers and sundry others!

Violations of the anti-trust laws and ethical canons of the legal profession is not the only charge raised by Harrison, Myrick and Luck.

Lawyers Bruce Harrison (left) and James Myrick (right), along with attorney Jerry Luck, are filing suit against the Washington, D.C. anti-poverty agency on the grounds that anti-trust laws and legal ethical canons are being violated.

They also accuse the Washington free legal service centers of questionable practices—specifically, steering individuals who come to the neighborhood centers and are found to be ineligible for help because they have money to "organizational lawyers."

According to Harrison, a person in position to offer first-hand evidence of such "shady referral practice" was promised $5,000 not to testify.

"The UPO has contrived to set up wholly arbitrary and capricious standards of indigency," asserts Harrison. "The current standard for free legal aid in Washington is $5,200 annual take-home pay for a family of four. This contrasts with the Labor Department's poverty standard of $3,000.

"But the Washington standard has never been consistent. There is nothing to prevent it from being raised to $7,200. I spent 11 years building up a law practice. Now along comes this so-called anti-poverty program and sets up an indigency standard way above reason. It's destroying my business, and I don't propose to sit by and let them do that without fighting back."

Poverty officials shrug off these claims. They hold free legal assistance for the poor essential. Thurmand Arnold retorts, "All charity deprives someone of the opportunity to exact money from the impoverished for the necessities of life."

As is the case with most anti-poverty agencies, Washington's United Planning Organization is rent with disunity and feuding. In recent weeks four top officials have resigned. A major cause of the wrangling is civil rights activities.

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Patriotic Americans Counter Peacenik Activities

A strident group of disaffected "peaceniks," aided by the Communists and their fellow-travelers, has grabbed headlines in recent months with various protests against U.S. involvement in the war in Viet Nam. But these demonstrations have backfired. The vast majority of the American public—both young and old—have become fed up with such near-seditious activity and are doing something about it. Perhaps the recent draft-card burnings brought about this outpouring of patriotic feeling. Perhaps it was the announcement by one left-wing group that it plans to send money, blood and supplies to the Viet Cong. No matter what the exact cause, Americans have begun trying to show that they are behind the U.S. troops in Viet Nam. The Pentagon, in fact, reports it has received hundreds of requests from individuals and groups who want to know just what they can do. Pictured on this page are some examples of the many recent activities that have been undertaken in support of the war effort. While a breakdown of morale among the American fighting men in Viet Nam is unlikely, the 150,000 men there deserve all the physical and psychological support U.S. citizens can muster.

University of Colorado student Sharie Duncan gives blood at a U.S. Army hospital in Denver. The Red Cross reports that more than 100,000 students from 75 different colleges have indicated a willingness to give blood for U.S. troops in Viet Nam and that interest is growing daily.

A "peacenik" parade of 10,000 October 16 was countered two weeks later by a 25,000-man patriotic march down New York's Fifth Avenue led by five Congressional Medal of Honor winners. From left to right: Michael Valente, Stephen Gregg, Thomas Kelly, John Meagher and Richard O'Neill. Similar marches have taken place in other cities on a smaller scale.

More than 600 students from 20 states attended a "reverse teach-in" in Washington, D.C. recently. After the sessions, they marched to the Vietnamese embassy and exchanged national flags. The bi-partisan National Student Committee for the Defense of Viet Nam will hold a December 10 rally in Washington featuring Sen. Thomas Dodd (D.-Conn.) and Walter Judd.

Young Americans for Freedom chairman Tom Charles Huston announced last week the formation of "The International Youth Crusade for Freedom in Viet Nam." Purpose is to mobilize support for U. S. policies.

"Mail Call, Viet Nam", is an operation begun by Dr. and Mrs. Richard Ornsteen of Gladwynne, Pa. Here they sort mail to different units in the field. Another "mail drop" is Viet Nam Mail Call, P. O. Box 3104, Columbus, Ga. Civic organizations and others are sending Christmas packages and cards to GIs on the firing line.

Mrs. Jack Parker of Covina, Calif., recently wrote an open letter to GIs in Viet Nam and had it signed by over 7,000 persons. Similar petitions are being circulated by numerous groups and universities.

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CAPITOL CAMERA

• *In the only congressional seat up for grabs on November 2, conservative Republican Clarence Brown Jr. posted a big win over his Democratic opponent in the 7th district in Ohio. Brown, son of Clarence Brown, Sr., who had served the 7th district until he died this year, captured the seat by lambasting Lyndon Johnson's "Great Society."*

• The New York *Daily News* says the Conservative party in New York "with William F. Buckley Jr. as its candidate for mayor . . . rolled up almost 340,000 ballots. Thereby, he made the Liberal party's 224,000 or so for Lindsay look sick." Other commentators note that the Conservative party, which cut deeply into Lindsay's margin of victory and picked up votes from conservative Democrats, may force both parties to the right from now on.

BUCKLEY

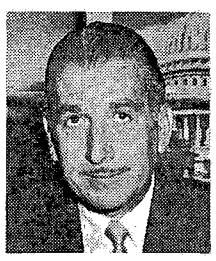
• *A leader of the anti-Viet Nam peace drive, University of California Prof. Steven Smale, scoffs at the "pacifist" label. In a recent interview, he said: "We want the Viet Cong to defeat the United States for international reasons. If the United States is defeated in Southeast Asia, this will help break American power elsewhere in the world. This would give new impetus to revolutionary social change—wars of liberation—in such places as Africa and Latin America. And if surrounded by revolutionary change, it will make it easier to achieve radical change in the United States."*

• Dr. Stefan Possony, director of international political studies at Stanford University's Hoover Institution, recently warned of "danger signs" pointing to revolution in this country: "If you study the record of past revolutions, you will find in the period just before the revolution many of the phenomena that are occurring in the United States today. The crime rate goes up, for example. In fact, before a revolution you usually have what you might call a crime epidemic. You have a loosening of sexual morals, a loosening of family ties. Things that would have raised the roof 20 years earlier are considered perfectly acceptable in a pre-revolutionary period. This is very clearly true in the United States today."

POSSONY

• *Liberals in Congress have promised to push a lavish federally subsidized disaster insurance program through the next session after having rejected in this session a plan which required persons whose property had been damaged by hurricanes and other natural causes to put up a token premium. Under the bill the Democrats want to pass next year, individuals will be able to receive up to $22,500 for residential damage and $75,000 for business damage—but without the insured having to put up even the smallest of premiums to cover the cost.*

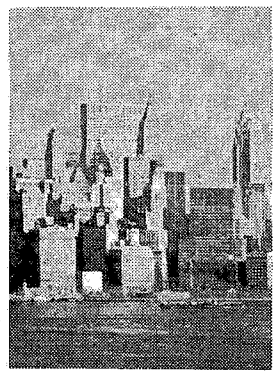
• In the next session of Congress House Republicans will press for repeal of legislation authorizing federal rent subsidies. Rep. Paul Fino (R.-N.Y.) explains GOP opposition to the program: "First, rent subsidies can be used to pay up to 70 per cent of a tenant's rent. This degree of subsidy is gross paternalism. Secondly, a family may qualify for rent subsidies even though it has assets of as much as $25,000. Thirdly, a family with four children is allowed to collect payments for a four-bedroom apartment. This is not equity—this is trickery."


FINO

This Week in Washington

A Warning to the GOP

The liberal press slipped into an expected frenzy last week as the election returns revealed that John Vliet Lindsay, endorsed by the Americans for Democratic Action and running on a Republican-Liberal ticket, captured the New York mayoralty race. The ADA-lining New York *Post* was effusive in its praise; the liberal Washington *Post* called it a "great day" for the nation; and Evans and Novak predictably relished the Lindsay triumph. So did Walter Lippmann. (Even the Soviet press gloated over Lindsay's win, seeing it as a defeat for LBJ's Viet Nam policy. Lindsay has opposed aspects of our policy there.)



Nor was the liberal communications media silent about the victory of Arlen Specter, the ADA-endorsed liberal Democrat who handily won the district attorney post in Philadelphia while running on the GOP ticket.

Pegging their pitch on these two examples, the press and liberal GOP ideologues are already beginning to trumpet this syllogistic message across the land: the GOP has to go where the votes are; the votes are in the big cities; hence, the GOP must put up left-leaning candidates along the lines of Lindsay and Specter. This argument will be paraded before the public for some time to come, but just how valid is it?

Sifting through statistics and sounding out grass-roots sentiment rather than accepting self-serving liberal propaganda, many GOP pros view the liberal strategy as disastrous for the Republican party. Here's why:

• In regard to sneaking super-liberals under the conservative Republican tent, many are recalling some wise words uttered by GOP National Chairman Ray Bliss in April before the 13th Annual Republican Women's Conference. Bliss, who does not always heed his own good advice, stated: "On some issues and on some candidates we should not and we will not compromise. A party that seeks to win at any cost, that sacrifices fundamental principles for temporary victory is worse than no party at all." Many a party pro feels Republicans in New York City and Philadelphia executed this very mistake.

• Contrary to liberal pundits, the by-elections prove the GOP is flirting with the danger of mass defections if Republicans pursue "temporary victory" by running ADA-type Republicans. While Republicans may gain short-lived victories in some Eastern cities by putting up super-liberals, they are alienating Republicans in the South, the West and the Midwest—the backbone of the Republican party. Conservative third parties, a far more serious threat to Republicans than to Democrats, made a sizable impact in New York and Virginia in 1965—depriving both major parties of an absolute majority. In the New York election (see analysis below) the Conservative party drained enough votes away from liberal Republicans in many contests, thus enabling the Democrats to win. Fear mounts among Republican loyalists that third parties will mushroom in other states if the GOP decides to continue plunging leftward.

• New York *Daily News* columnist Ted Lewis notes the GOP may have tossed away one of its best anti-Democratic party weapons by its *apertura a sinistra* in 1965. The ADA, Lewis notes, used to be a good club to clout Democrats over the head with, but that issue may all but vanish if Republicans feel impelled to search out ADA help. Sen. William Proxmire (D.-Wis.), who has faced election troubles because of ADA backing, is already pointing out he is no different from Republicans for accepting ADA's good wishes. In short, Republicans in New York and Philadelphia may have made the ADA respectable by selecting candidates who sought and got ADA support.

• Lindsay fans, moreover, can't claim Lindsay won as a Republican. As noted, the Liberal party, even to the left of New York Democrats, provided Lindsay with his margin of victory. As labor columnist Victor Riesel reported: "And so Mayor-elect John Lindsay disclosed that he is as knowledgeable as he is charming when in the final moments of the drama he thanked those two "distinguished labor leaders, Dave Dubinksy and Alex Rose."

• In spite of their wins, it cannot be demonstrated that either Lindsay or Specter helped the Republican party. Lindsay—who won largely because of his charm—was unable to help his two teammates, who went down to defeat. Specter's running mate also lost.

• Nor can the argument be made that the only way to beat Democrats in the big cities is to espouse liberal programs. While liberal commentators point to New York City as an example, few like to point to the election results in Boston. There, in an overwhelmingly Democratic city where the issues were clearly drawn, Boston citizens last week elected five members to the school board of education who are firm supporters of neighborhood schools. Mrs. Louise Day Hicks, an opponent of school busing to achieve racial balancing, led the ticket. Furthermore, federal urban renewal opponents (which include Negroes, since they are hurt the worst by the federal bulldozer) added another anti-urban renewal advocate to the City Council and, in the process, defeated for re-election George Foley, present chairman of the council's Urban Renewal Committee. Hence the belief that the only way to win in the city is to chant liberal slogans has been seriously challenged—at least in Boston.

How Lindsay Fared

In the eyes of seasoned politicos in Washington, the Lindsay win in New York has been vastly overrated for propaganda purposes by the liberal press.

Lindsay, it is noted, had much more going for him than his underdog tactics would have made it appear. An ultra-liberal Republican, he has had munificent praise from most of the New York press for many years. He had support from the major newspapers this time, including the New York *Times*, the *Herald-Tribune* and the *World-Telegram*. New Yorkers, furthermore, were looking for a change and a fresh face and Lindsay's manner was far more attractive than that of Democrat Abe Beame, whose "bookkeeper image" was driven home by an antagonistic press. Moreover, as Beame supporters continually charged, the Democratic Administration in Washington was of little or no help. Reports also indicate Lindsay spent well over $3 million to notch his victory.

Even with these assets, however, Lindsay won less than a majority of the votes (46 per cent at last count). He was outpolled by Democrat Frank O'Connor, who ran for president of the city council. Lindsay, moreover, was unable to bring anyone along on his coattails. Furthermore, his super-liberalism, combined with his deplorable smear tactics against Conservative party candidate William Buckley, including hints that Buckley and his followers were Hitlerites, has alienated him even more from New York conservatives, who would like to vote Republican.

In spite of Lindsay's win, moreover, another aspect of the New York election proved that a Republican could run as a conservative and still win in a Democratic area.

While the national press made little of it, Robert T. Connor, a YAF supporter and a Republican councilman at large, ousted Staten Island Borough President Albert V. Maniscalco. Staten Island, 2-to-1 Democratic in registration, is represented in Congress by a liberal Democrat. It hasn't had a Republican borough president for 12 years. Moreover, Connor posted his victory by welcoming the backing of the Conservative party as well as regular Republicans.

• In spite of Lindsay's victory, many New York Republicans figure they had better make a closer alliance with the Conservative party. According to the latest tabulations, the Republicans would now

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be in charge of the New York state assembly if they had sought Conservative party support. Republicans lost where they should have won in eight assembly districts—the 10th, 14th, 23rd, 34th, 61st, 69th, 93rd, and 94th. But the Conservative party candidate running in each of these districts pulled just enough votes away from the Republican to cause a GOP defeat. The effect of this, say the pros, could mean a greater attempt by many Republicans to draw closer to Conservative sentiment.

GOP Hope in Minnesota

Though Minnesotans weren't participating in the elections last week, the GOP in the Gopher State was rejoicing. The reason? Scandal and a serious division in the powerful Democratic-Farmer-Labor party which has held sway over the state since 1948. Some pros were saying the DFL would never be the same.

The troubles facing the Democratic party, claim political observers, could enable the GOP to walk off with a number of contests next year, including the governorship and a seat in the U.S. Senate.

The Democrats have been fighting each other ever since Hubert Humphrey, who formerly held the party together, became vice president and has had to stay out of state affairs. But what Minnesota Republicans are primarily counting on to aid them in the 1966 elections is a burgeoning insurance scandal.

Directly touching on Democratic insurance commissioner Cyrus E. Magnusson, it also involves other high-ranking Democrats, including Gov. Karl F. Rolvaag and Sen. Walter F. Mondale, a protege of Humphrey.

Magnusson and 16 others have just been indicted in the U.S. District Court in Minneapolis for criminal fraud. The indictment alleges Magnusson "falsely represented" the financial structure of American Allied Insurance Co. by claiming it was financially sound when it was on the verge of collapse. Magnusson denies any wrongdoing.

Republicans feel the scandal will also rub off on the entire Democratic party, since many key Democrats put Magnusson in his present position or have been associated with him in some way. For example, Magnusson was first appointed by then Gov. Orville Freeman, a Humphrey protege who is now secretary of agriculture. Gov. Rolvaag, who squeaked to victory by only 91 votes in 1962, was responsible for reappointing Magnusson. Furthermore, Lt. Gov. A.M. Keith was a $500-a-month vice president for United States Mutual Insurance Co., whose key board members have been indicted along with Magnusson.

Incumbent Sen. Mondale was Minnesota's attorney general when the American Allied Insurance Co. was formed and Republicans are suggesting he was partly responsible for not overseeing its operations more closely.

Polls in Minnesota already reflect a sag in Democratic popularity since the insurance scandal broke into the headlines last spring. If Magnusson is convicted, the GOP candidates may well go into the 1966 elections as odds-on favorite.

Federal Registrars

As predicted by *Human Events*, the so-called "voting rights" act—which permits illiterates to elect government officials—has been turned into a political tool for the Democrats. Justice Department figures reveal that as a result of the new law Negroes in the South, who vote predominantly Democratic, are proceeding to register at a million-a-year pace.

Since August 9, federal registrars in 20 counties in Mississippi, Alabama and Louisiana have added 56,119 new Negro voters to the rolls. Local registrars in these states and in Georgia and South Carolina have voluntarily added 110,162.

This means that without literacy or good character tests 165,000 new Negro voters have been registered in these five states alone—a pace of 77,000 a month. New Negro registrations in Virginia and North Carolina may bring the pace to 80,000 a month—the goal of the civil rights leaders.

King Decrowned?

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King may become defrocked as champion of the Negro, as Negroes now openly turn against his militant tactics to win "civil rights." Earlier this year King's foreign policy pronouncements were indirectly criticized by such Negro leaders as NAACP head Roy Wilkins and Urban League President Whitney Young.

But now King is also faced with a revolt among the Negro population at large. On October 28 in Lincolnton, Ga., for example, some 50 Negro men, most of them pulp mill workers, blocked a civil rights protest march led by King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Reporters say this is the first time that Negroes, acting on their own, have stopped a protest march.

A spokesman for the Negro men, Sylvester Glaze, told the SCLC leaders—none of them from Lincoln County—the following:

"How do you expect these children [some of the marchers] to get an education when you keep marching every day?"

Braving catcalls from juvenile Negro toughs, Glaze said he wanted the civil rights leaders to stop their marches, stop the school boycotts and send the children back to classes. "These marches have got to stop," Glaze said. "We've had enough of it." Rebuffed, the marchers turned tail and went home.

Politicos are keeping their fingers crossed, but they think this may be the beginning of serious trouble for trouble-maker King.

Why Bosch May Win

The Dominican Republic situation continues to look grim, with the supporters of the Communist-led rebels and of Red-sympathizer Juan Bosch gaining rapidly over conservative elements. Predictions by Latins, both liberal and conservative, are that Bosch or one of his followers would definitely win if the elections—scheduled several months hence—were held today.

The provisional government of Hector Garcia-Godoy is known to be overwhelmingly sympathetic to the revolution, a fact confirmed by Dominican officials in the United States and abroad.

The Dominican chancery in Washington is also saturated with rebel sympathizers, including the present ambassador to the United States, Dr. Milton Messina. Dario Suro, of consular rank, tells reporters he sympathizes with the revolution and thinks Sen. J.W. Fulbright (D.-Ark.) has been "absolutely right" in his criticisms of American policy.

Suro recently wrote an article for the extreme left-wing *Ahora!*, whose October 3 issue lavishes praise on Bosch and rebel military hero Francisco Caamano-Deno. Yet he and others like him have become prominent in the new government. Hence, the glum faces along Diplomatic Row.

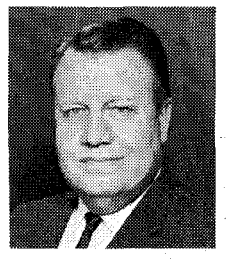
News Management

Members of the working press have again condemned Administration news management. In its annual report, the Freedom of Information Committee of Sigma Delta Chi, a national journalistic society, has charged the Johnson Administration with trying to "warp" federal legislation in such a way as to grant almost "unlimited authority for the President to establish broader secrecy practices."

The Administration, said the committee, blocked passage of a federal public records bill in 1965 and seemed to be opposed to any legislation in this field that would "limit executive branch secrecy." The records legislation, the committee noted, was aimed at clearing up the vague standards used by the Administration to prevent the release of information, but White House representatives demanded language changes to give the President and Cabinet officers the "executive privilege" of withholding news arbitrarily.

CAPITOL CAMERA

• Top Democratic officials of the California State Legislature have threatened a legislative crackdown if the University of California campus continues to be what Assembly Speaker Jesse M. Unruh terms a "staging area, a fountainhead" for anti-Viet Nam demonstrations. Use of the campus for civil disobedience activities "is at best a distortion and at worst a subversion" of the university's function, according to Senate President Pro Tem Hugh Burns.


UNRUH

• *Big-Surprise Department: Under Secretary of State W. Averell Harriman, who has previously indicated he would like Red China in the United Nations, now says that Mao's admission would be a disaster.*

• The Washington *Post* reveals that Defense Secretary Robert McNamara has run into some "little-publicized troubles" with the TFX fighter plane he ordered over unanimous military opposition. "Sharp rises in the plane's weight and cost have raised many questions, including the central issue of the [Senate] hearings—whether Defense Secretary McNamara was right in insisting on a 'common' Air Force-Navy fighter. The weight increases have cast considerable doubt as to whether the Navy . . . version can meet minimum requirements. Cost rises similarly raise doubt of the soundness of McNamara's claim that a billion dollars could be saved by contracting with General Dynamics Co. for what is essentially one all-purpose Air Force-Navy airplane."

McNAMARA

• *From a recent summary on the 1964 elections prepared by the Republican National Committee: "There is no doubt that the creation of a two-party system in the South was further advanced in 1964. There are today 17 Republican representatives from eight of the 11 Southern states. In 1962, 11 Republican congressmen were elected from five states and seven were elected from five states in 1960. Two of the South's 22 United States senators are Republicans. And for the first time in this century, there is at least one Republican in every state legislature."*

• While most of America's labor leaders and unions are supporting the war in Viet Nam, not all of them are: President Mike Quill of the Transport Workers singlehandedly defeated a pro-South Viet Nam resolution in the TWU's October 11-15 convention; leftist Harry Bridges, head of the Longshoremen's Union, opposes the war; leaders of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters have denounced it; the Missouri Teamsters, under the thumb of Hoffa-man Harold Gibbon, has championed Professors Eugene Genovese and James Mellen who claim they welcome a Viet Cong victory; the United Auto Workers has reversed itself under pressure from the White House, but both UAW President Walter Reuther and Secretary-Treasurer Emil Mazey have criticized U.S. toughness toward the Reds.

QUILL

• *Camp Breckinridge, the Kentucky Job Corps Center where enrollees rioted last August, remains "seriously deficient," "War on Poverty" officials admit. Wray Smith, associate director of the Job Corps, says "there is a lack of effective management" at the camp, adding the "matter is urgent."*

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What the Radical Socialists Really Think

Their ideas—and plans—for remaking America were boldly spelled out during the recent 'First Annual Conference of Socialist Scholars.' Here is a summary of what went on at that important meeting.

By TERRY CATCHPOLE

A little more than a month ago, a gathering was held at New York's Columbia University which at first glance might appear to have been just another one of those meetings where a bunch of left-wing intellectuals get together to toss around the ideology and bat out a few abstractions. It was the First Annual Conference of Socialist Scholars, held September 11-12 in Columbia's McMillin Theatre. Far from being a wild goose chase of leftist thought, however, this conference got down to the hard practical fact of "How do we do it?"

The last discussion panel of the conference took up the pointed question of "The Future of American Social-

Herbert Aptheker, leading theoretician of the Communist party in the U.S., is currently with the American Institute of Marxist Studies.

ism," and throughout the two-day meeting debates raged on how best to propagandize the public and win support for the Socialist doctrine. The *Nation* magazine, by no means the country's most implacable foe of socialism, heralded this conference as "hugely provocative and useful" and commended the Socialist scholars for asking "many genuinely important questions."

And lest anyone think this occasion was a one-shot thing, the *Nation*, in a burst of fairly typical leftist garble, said that the conference offered "a good dialogue between Marxists and non-Marxists [which] provided a glimpse of the meaningful clash of ideas and analyses which we can hope to hear at future conferences."

The purpose of the conference was to bring together educators from campuses across the country who prefer to call themselves—in varying degrees—Socialists. The invited scholars read prepared papers at four panel discussions, each of which concerned a different aspect of socialism and its application to modern, practical situations.

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This was no collection of wild-eyed radicals discussing pipe dreams; it was a hard-boiled, serious gathering concerned with programs for winning an ideological war over a nation and bringing the Socialist way to America.

Among the Socialist scholars participating in the conference were such notables of the left as:

• Prof. Eugene D. Genovese, the Rutgers University instructor who said at a Viet Nam teach-in last April that "I am a Marxist and a Socialist. Therefore, unlike most of my distinguished colleagues here this morning, I do not fear or regret the impending Viet Cong victory in Viet Nam. I welcome it." Prof. Genovese's warm-hearted welcome to the Communist Viet Cong prompted many persons across New Jersey, including the Republican gubernatorial candidate, state Sen. Wayne Dumont, to call for his immediate removal from the state-supported Rutgers University. The state's Democratic administration (under present Gov. Richard Hughes, Dumont's opponent for the 1965 election) disagreed; so did Rutgers' faculty. Genovese is still there.

• Conor Cruise O'Brien, now of New York University, the Irishman who was the special envoy for the United Nations to the Congo in the bloody years of 1961-62. It is strongly felt by many reliable sources that O'Brien inspired the brutal suppression of the people of Katanga and their leader Moise Tshombe, which the U.N. troops inflicted. At the conference O'Brien was to talk on "Modern Imperialism."

• Prof. Staughton Lynd, the young Yale University history instructor who

Conor Cruise O'Brien was the special envoy for the United Nations to the Congo during the bloody Katanga violence.

has been tied with the Peking-oriented Progressive Labor party and American Youth for Democracy. At an August demonstration in Washington to protest the war in Viet Nam, Lynd was arrested for attempting to crash police barriers at the Capitol.

• Herbert Aptheker, leading theoretician of the U.S. Communist party and member of its National Committee. A one-time editor of the now-defunct Red organ, *New Masses*, he presently dictates the party line at the American Institute of Marxist Studies.

• Sylvester Leaks, former writer for the Black Muslim publication, *Muhammed Speaks*, and devoted follower of the late Muslim strongman, Malcolm X. Leaks is now leader of the Harlem Writers Guild.

And so the line-up of stars went, with all sorts of shadings of far-left thought brought together to think out the course and direction of American socialism before the waiting, eager eyes and ears of 900 young and old people.

At the first panel meeting on Saturday morning, September 11, the topic was "Class and Ideology." The audience heard papers on this topic entitled "Working Class Authoritarianism: A Reconsideration," by Richard Hamilton of Princeton, and "Distortions of Working Class Reality in American Social Sciences," by Prof. Eleanor B. Leacock of the Polytechnic Institute in Brooklyn.

Mrs. Alice Widener, editor and publisher of *U.S.A. Magazine* (530 East 72nd St., N.Y. 21, N.Y. , who wrote the most thorough account of this conference, commented that "in the presentation of papers [in this session] and during the commentaries on them, it became evident by 'authoritarian' the speakers meant 'anti-Communist, anti-Marxist and anti-radical-Socialist.'" And Prof. Hamilton, in discussing "Working Class Authoritarianism" found that "the farmers, the self-employed middle class, and the factory foremen" are the most "intolerant" segment of the population.

Mrs. Leacock, says Alice Widener, "sharply attacked the middle-class education aim of guiding children and students toward goals of 'striving and taking individual responsibility.'

She said teachers should work toward creation of a society in which there are 'objective certainty rewards.'" Mrs. Widener then adds, "I took her to mean a Socialist society in which the rewards—jobs, wages, intellectual status and so on—were reaped on 'certainties' established by the government and not by individual effort."

The Saturday afternoon session on "Modern Imperialism" was chaired by Paul Sweezy, editor of the leftist *Monthly Review*, and starred Conor Cruise O'Brien, the architect of the Congo slaughter in 1961. O'Brien's presentation developed into something of a harangue against the United States, with denunciations of American policy in Viet Nam, in the Dominican Republic and in Alabama as forms of "suppression of freedom."

But according to liberal James O'Connor, writing in the *Nation*, O'Brien made a grievous error in his denunciations and upset several of his co-performers. At the same session, said O'Connor, Prof. Said Shad of the State University of New York at Plattsburg and Timothy Harding of California State College in Los Angeles criticized O'Brien for his "unwillingness . . . to discover the roots of modern imperialism in the economic imperatives of the advanced capitalist countries." (Guess who?) However, O'Connor continued, "there was a more or less general consensus to the effect that it would be premature to discard an economic theory of imperialism . . . ." One can only hope that this is one "consensus" LBJ doesn't get his hands on.

Bright and early Sunday morning, the Socialist scholars gathered to discuss "The Meaning of Conservatism for America," with a panel featuring Professors Allen Guttmann of Amherst and Warren I. Susman of Rutgers. Rather than a discussion of conservatism, this session apparently just provided the leftist educators an opportunity to degrade contemporary American liberalism because it does not always completely embrace Socialist principles. As the *Nation's* reporter on the scene put it, "In effect, the audience heard a solid critique of liberalism in the guise of an exploration of conservative thought." But then, to these gathered "Socialists,"

Among the participants was Rutgers professor Eugene D. Genovese, who stated that he would welcome a Viet Cong victory.

liberalism probably *is* conservative, or at least as conservative as they like to think about.

The Sunday afternoon panel was the last of the conference and its subject, "The Future of American Socialism," was described as the general theme of the whole meeting by the panel chairman, Ann Lane of Sarah Lawrence College. This was the panel that rolled out the "big guns": Staughton Lynd, Eugene Genovese, Herbert Aptheker, Muslimite Sylvester Leaks and Norman Fruchter, editor of *Studies on the Left.*

The *Nation* said that at this discussion "the panelists did get down to the real business of outlining the conditions under which a Socialist movement might emerge in America." And Alice Widener reported in *U.S.A.* that "the weather was cooler but the radicalism was hotter."

First up to bat was Prof. Lynd. As Mrs. Widener relates Lynd's opening remarks, he said "a Social-

Continued on next page

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Guantanamo Troubles Brewing?

From the San Diego *Union*

When Fidel Castro, an avowed revolutionary, poses as a stalwart proponent of peace and a champion of international law, it is time to hoist the danger signals.

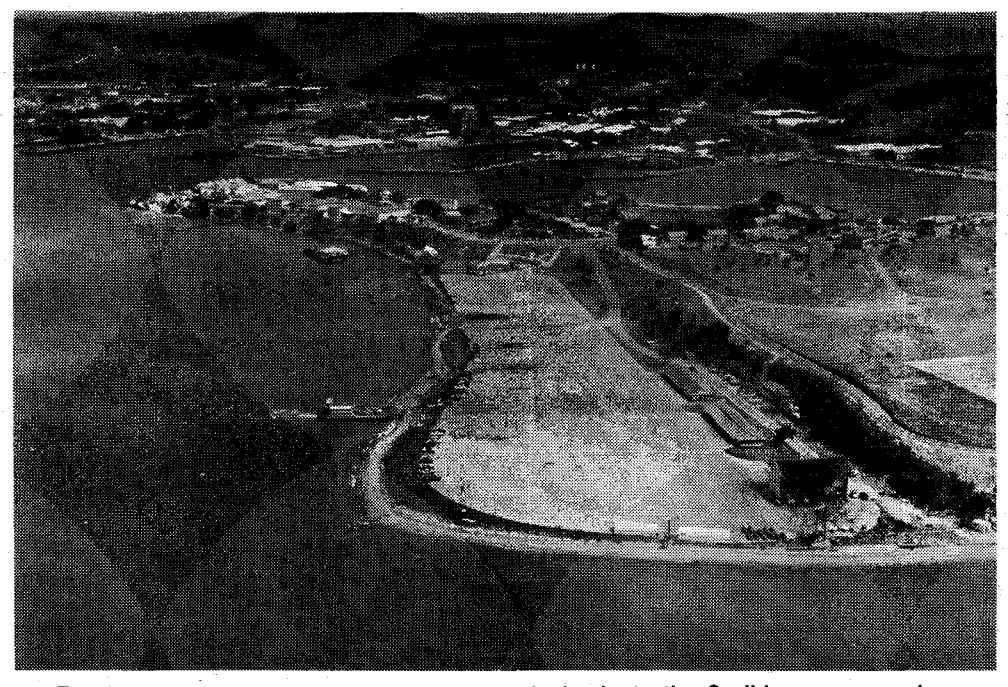
The warring hand of Castro is at this moment evident in perhaps a dozen Latin American nations where Cuban-trained guerrillas terrorize the countryside and threaten constituted governments. In the immediate vicinity of his own island fortress, however, the Cuban dictator insists that the principles of international law must apply at the Guantanamo naval base. He, of course, will interpret the principles.

The whole affair might be ludicrous were it not for the fact that the Castro charade could mean trouble for the United States in the future. His antics should serve as another lesson that atheistic Communist dictators fatten on free world concessions.

In the case of Castro, the invitation to troublemaking began with an announcement by the United States that it is willing to give Panama more sovereignty over the canal, as Brig. Gen. James D. Hittle (USMC, ret.), director of national security and foreign affairs for the Veterans of Foreign Wars, pointed out.

Dilution of authority over the strategically important Panama Canal is to the advantage of the Communists, seeking toeholds in the American hemisphere. They also are aware, however, that they can never dominate the Caribbean so long as the powerful U.S. Navy base remains at Guantanamo.

So Castro is trying to use renegotiation of the Panama treaty as a basis for renegotiating the Guantanamo base pact. Havana radio has declared "...Guantanamo—just as Panama—is an anachronistic survival of colonialism. The question of Panama is a political question...not to be decided by admirals or generals...but between the states in accordance with international law."



The Communists will not be able to completely dominate the Caribbean area as long as the U. S. maintains its Guantanamo base.

Not trusting entirely to international law, Castro has built a ring of fortifications around Guantanamo Bay. A few shots, blasts of propaganda and an echo from Moscow and the United States would face another trouble spot.

We should make it plain at Panama and at Guantanamo that the United States of America will not relinquish a millimeter of its security plans as long as the Communist threat exists. International law, if it has any force, also recognizes that treaties are solemn obligations. The U.S. has long-term treaties at both Panama and Guantanamo.

And if Castro wishes to follow international law he might start thinking about his political executions, expropriation of billions in U.S. property and free elections in Cuba.

Continued from Opposite Page

What the Radical Socialists Really Think

ist scholar . . . should be ready at any moment to put aside his books and devote himself 'to the jugular' to bring about a better world." As for his own activist role in recent months, the young man from Yale alluded to this by asking rhetorically, "I wonder whether every teacher who calls himself a Socialist doesn't have a duty to become a professional revolutionary."

He elaborated on this by stating, according to Mrs. Widener, that "a better world can be brought about by a "revolutionary instead of reformist technique. To exert revolutionary means, Prof. Lynd urged 'daring and inventive use of civil disobedience.' "

Herbert Aptheker then took the microphone to praise Lynd's paper, calling it "wholly admirable" for its depiction of the "desirability of socialism" and the "necessity of socialism to prevent war." He concluded his critique by stating that "not in 30 years has there been such interest in radicalism as there is today, such a sense of confidence, of mass involvement in the radicalization of the United States."

And the friendly *Nation* commented that Communist leader Aptheker had "painted a rather more optimistic view of the ability of the peoples in the backwaters of the capitalist world to stand up to American imperialism."

Prof. Genovese, the Viet Cong lobbyist from Rutgers (introduced as a "formerly but never again obscure professor"), took issue with Lynd's call to political activism and put the stress on more subversive measures. According to the *Nation*, he said that "academics ought to be content to 'influence' activists in the interests of rationing scarce resources in the context of a relatively stable social and political system." Mrs. Widener agrees, reporting more clearly that "he said that though 'time is on our side' it is necessary for Socialist scholars to have patience and fulfill their role as academic intellectuals."

Further, says Mrs. Widener in U.S.A., Genovese showed "just how cynical is the leftist radical approach to academic freedom of speech" and then she quoted the admitted-Marxist educator as saying on the subject of academic freedom: "The political separation—activist and academician—is a matter of convenience, that we all know."

Next up to the speaker's platform was Sylvester Leaks, the former henchman of Malcolm X, who started off his presentation by stating "first of all, I'm not non-violent." Mrs. Widener reports that he went on to say that "the black *lumpenproletariat* 'should go to war now,' " and that the battle cry should be "Burn, Baby, Burn." And the *Nation* interpreted Leaks as saying "the white Socialists had historically underestimated the revolutionary potential of the black workers in the ghettos . . . . "

But then, in the face of these exhortations, *Nation* reporter O'Connor wrote that Leaks said "socialism could not be expected to solve their [Negroes] problems until racism had been abolished." (Does O'Connor think former Muslim Leaks was really preaching brotherly love?)

Time was drawing the conference to a close, and to wrap it all up Red theoretician Herbert Aptheker was again called upon.

As Mrs. Widener describes the next few minutes:

"Slowly and with deliberate calm, he went to the rostrum. The audience was silent. Others had spoken, but this was the voice, and his was the word.

" 'The problem,' he began, 'is how we move toward radicalization of America.'

"First, he said, is 'the battle against war,' and he said it could definitely be stated that there 'is now' such a thing as a battle against war. Briefly, he mentioned the teach-ins and other 'peace' activities.

"There, said Aptheker, must be 'the all-out effort to achieve greatest possible unity of the left.' For this the prospects were 'good' in his opinion, and a most hopeful situation now on the world scene is in Italy. 'Italy is an example of the new United Party of the Left. That party is now stirring all Italy.'

"Finally, Herbert Aptheker declared that the matter of violence 'is not a question for revolutionists. They are not terrorists. Revolutionists, to be effective, cannot be pacifists.'

"Then the Communist party's leading intellectual at the American Institute of Marxist Studies, Dr. Herbert Aptheker, paused dramatically while at the rostrum. For a moment he looked at the audience in McMillin Theatre. Then he turned deliberately toward Sylvester Leaks. " 'Of course,' said Communist Aptheker, raising his voice and letting it ring out, 'Watts was glorious!' "

And so the First Annual Conference of Socialist Scholars came to a roaring finish.

This conference attracted little attention and it might, therefore, seem insignificant. There were only 900 people in attendance—teachers, students, assorted others—over the two-day, four-session meeting, and the speakers by no means represent a substantial or responsible segment of the American academy.

But perhaps Alice Widener put the conference in the best perspective when she prefaced her report in *U.S.A.* with an apocryphal tale from the Russian Revolution:

"Early in the Russian Bolshevik Revolution," she wrote, "a soldier in the Red Army asked Joseph Stalin, then editor of *Pravda*, whether or not to take his rifle to a meeting.

"Stalin shrugged disdainfully.

" 'Well,' he said, 'all I'm taking is my pencil.' "

No doubt there will be future conferences. A Second Annual. A Third. A Fourth. There will probably be more calls akin to "Burn, Baby, Burn"; "individual responsibility" will continue to be denounced, and American foreign policy will be called "suppression of freedom."

And while their ideological blood brothers will be out somewhere lying-in, demonstrating and marching in "protest," there will also be young would-be Stalins at these future conferences . . . with pencils.

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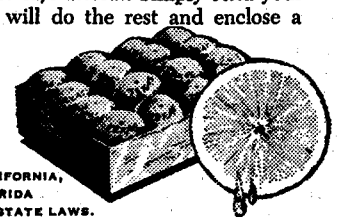

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No Tears for Ernest Creech

The 'Great Society' claims to be helping the people of Appalachia, but it does nothing to protect the individual workingman from union violence.

By TED HUMES

Much has been made of the toil and despair of Appalachia; much of its backwoods character; much has been said of its pride and poverty, of its low standards of living—of the struggle and violence.

Some of the things said are all too true, but many are false and distorted. The feuding days are gone and economic conditions have changed the whole life of Appalachia. But the spirit of the mountain people lives on, a witness to the men of long past generations who struggled against many difficulties, but still found life good.

If Appalachia does in fact exist outside of the drawing boards of Washington social engineers, then the hills of eastern Kentucky are Appalachia's Eden—a compensation for the dirty streets, the noise and blare of city life.

These hills, ageless and inscrutable, have watched generations come and go, knowing good times and bad, booms, depressions, peace and war. Eastern Kentucky has seen them all; strong in

Ted Humes is a Pittsburgh, Pa., public relations executive and a frequent contributor to Human Events.

adversity and humble in success, her dignity has never been in doubt.

A land of grim associations, it can be the most dreary and melancholy of places; mists and storms brood over its hills through a greater part of the finest summer; huge precipices of naked stone tower on both sides of winding highways. Go where you will, the charm of the unexpected awaits you around every corner.

The visitor can rarely be unaffected by the historic past in Appalachia, but many scenes need no such influence to make them memorable; the winding, twisting roads that follow the creek beds; 60-miles-per-hour limits for roads engineered for 40 at best—turnpike speeds on backwoods roads; frame homes raised on concrete blocks to escape the spring flooding; pots, pans and potted flowers hanging on every porch, while the family sits out front watching the traffic go by; a coal pile alongside every home; few level places; a football team for every high school, although you wonder where they find enough of a flat surface to play; small terrace farms and truck gardens in abundance; sturdy bus stop shelters constructed of local, rough-cut lumber; "department" stores—one-room buildings with inexpensive housedresses in the windows; rickety suspension bridges leading to company homes across the creek, some painted a cheerful white, some grimy and run-down, here and there a home vacant, like missing teeth; farther down you come across neat, red brick ranch homes with well kept lawns; abandoned tipples, solitary, battered C&O hopper cars on rusting tracks choked with weeds; lines of coal cars loaded and waiting to be shipped to utilities in Indiana and Detroit; everywhere the kudzu vine, a spectacular growing vine, with huge leaves that can envelop an abandoned shed or garage in a matter of days.

One sees abandoned tipples choked by the vine running grotesquely up along the mountainside; telephone poles and even abandoned homes consumed by the kudzu—its primary function being to cover slopes and prevent slides; signs reading "We buy Ginseng here"; towns like Scuddy, Defiance, Happy and Vicco (pop. 750); Cave Creek elementary school at Cody where happy children play on swings and see-saws, a peaceful interlude in the "War on Poverty."

Land of Contrasts

They take their politics seriously in eastern Kentucky. The streamer stretched across the main street in Pikeville gives the Republican battle cry: "Let's Finish Cleaning Out the Courthouse." Later the Democrats will hang up theirs. The contest for jailer seems unusually spirited down here, until you learn that some resourceful jailers can make up to $15,000 a year, based on the length of a prisoner's detention and the number of meals served.

The Republican candidate for clerk of courts of Pike County has managed to make a liberal distribution of his huge road signs: "It has been proven that he is friendly and accommodating at all times and not just at election time." Faded posters on trees proclaim: "Save Your Social Security—Beat the Goldwater Gang." The candidate for sheriff of Perry County passes out cards reading: "I am a believer in God, and a protector of all churches, schools and all other private and public institutions."

This is Appalachia, land of strange contrasts—impoverishment amid full employment, affluence and despair, misery and hope—and murder.

Words are poor things at the best of times: to attempt to describe the murder of Ernest Creech they are wholly inadequate. For these are the woods and the meadows that he knew and the scenes that he loved so well. He was three when he came to eastern Kentucky from Detroit. Except for service in France with the Army in World War II, this was his country.

Coal mining was all he knew and he had joined with and crossed many a picket line in his 20 years in the fields. That day in May, 1965, started out much like other days that he had experienced in this volatile and violent setting.

Creech had worked for Leatherwood No. 1 of the Blue Diamond Coal Co. only a couple of years. He was proficient in most every phase of mining and could run any type of machine; he was literally a jack-of-all-trades underground.

Although Blue Diamond has been working under a previous United Mine Workers contract, like most of the mines in this area, it found it impossible to operate and pay the prohibitive 40-cents-a-ton royalty payment that the UMW demands as the price of existence down here. This, of course, has been the bone of contention in Appalachia for many years.

The operators down here argue they cannot possibly be compared with the modern, mechanized mines of northern West Virginia, Pennsylvania and the Midwest and remain in business if they have to pay the 40 cents-a-ton royalty payment. The result has been a long, drawn-out war between UMW roving goon squads and a harvest of dynamiting, beatings, maimings and murders.

Leatherwood No. 1 is about 40 miles from Bonnyman and Ernest Creech made the round trip daily in his battered, yellow International pickup truck. His company was not on strike, although UMW roving pickets had been carrying out menacing activities for days in attempting to close it down. The company was operating, and Creech, not being a member of the UMW, was not required to go out.

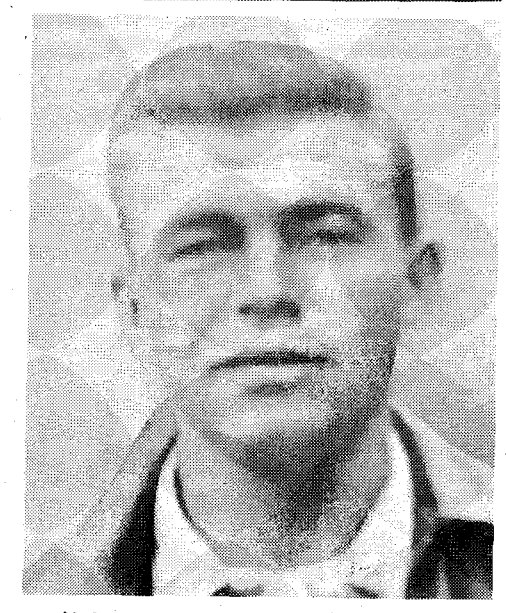
Ernest Creech was at one time a member of the UMW, but like many thousands of former UMW members in this region who have had their fill of dynamitings, beatings and murders, left it and joined the Southern Labor Union headquartered in Oneda, Tenn. The SLU, now close to 4,000 members, was founded in response to the violence and high-handed tactics of the entrenched UMW. Its constitution guarantees the rank and file a voice in the election of its own officers, the formation of its own employment contracts and grievance procedures; control and direction of its own locals and absolute assurance of a vote in considering strike action.

The Fateful Day

Moreover, the SLU has written contracts based upon the ability of the individual mine owner to pay and its negotiations, usually calling for a 10 cents-a-ton royalty payment, enables per ton savings to be passed on to the wages of the employes.

Although a relatively young union, the Southern Labor Union has earned the respect and confidence of both industry and the communities where they operate from Alabama to West Virgina.

It is a genuinely democratic and honest union and it eschews violence in any form. Identified troublemakers are expelled from the union.



Union terrorism in the mines of Eastern Kentucky took the life of Ernest Creech.

It has given new hope for stable labor-management relations in the coal fields of Appalachia.

On that grey morning as Creech's pickup truck approached the entrance to Leatherwood No. 1, a piece of slate thrown at his truck broke the rear window, just missing him and sending slivers of glass throughout the cab. As one raised in an atmosphere of roving pickets and minefield violence, Creech continued on to work and put in a full day down in the shaft. At noontime he purchased a rifle, fearing the worst.

As he left the minesite at 4 p.m., he was met by a small army of parked cars near the entrance, gun barrels sticking out of many of them. He drove on, carrying with him fellow-workers Carl and Bentley Boggs until they were blocked ahead by another car. Creech got out of his truck and tried to talk his way through. Whether or not he succeeded will never be known, because the moment he returned to his truck and sat down, a 30.06 slug ripped through the outer and inner truck body and pierced his heart through the left shoulder blade.

Ernest Creech, 38 years old, was dead almost instantly; and down in Bonnyman, Gladys Creech became a widow and nine children lost a father; three weeks later a 10th child was born, Ernest Jr.

Funeral services were held the following Saturday at 1 p.m. at the Church of the Lord Jesus Christ at Airport Gardens, and Ernest Creech was buried in Riverside Cemetery in Hazard.

Two months later, in mid-July 1965, the trial of the first of 12 men indicted for the slaying took place in Leslie County's modernistic courthouse in Hyden, Ky. Bentley Boggs, the star witness, testified that he saw the defendant, Sam Gayheart, point a long-barreled weapon at the truck an instant before the shooting. Gayheart's wife testified that he left his rifle at home on the day of the shooting.

The jury, six men and six women, one of whom was the mother of one of the defendants, "deliberated" less than three minutes in the jury room with-

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out even sitting down. The verdict: Not guilty.

Gladys Creech is tall, with deep-set blue eyes. In spite of her solemnity and sadness, she gives the impression of a woman quite young; in spite of the tragedy there is a certain repose and serenity as she strives to preserve her calmness. She is calm, but in her breast there is no lack of painful wounds; they would have been married 20 years this December.

She was ironing on the front porch of her frame and concrete block home situated along a dry creek about five miles from Hazard. The wooden rail was large enough to hold the pile of finished ironing. At the moment her prime concern was a leaking roof and she had been trying for two weeks to find somebody to fix it. The dampness had given her children sore throats and they had been missing school. Finally, Charley Campbell, a retired miner, now working on a county road improvement project, came over and started nailing tar paper over the kitchen.

'Lived for Family'

Like most of the old company homes of this region, the Creech property is somewhat barren and run-down by modern standards. There are three bedrooms, a parlor and a kitchen; the furniture is of poor quality, walls are bare, unplastered and the light switches hang loosely from the wall. There is a noticeable lack of cupboard space and the girls' dresses hang on open racks. The Creeches managed to secure a fairly good refrigerator and range and their only other luxury item is a TV set they bought about three years ago.

The house has no running water and Mrs. Creech brings it down from a well up on the hill from the back porch; they have a small garden that provides them with potatoes and beans, and a dozen chickens give them enough eggs.

Terry is 2, blonde, barefooted and towheaded; he was playing with a plastic doll on the wooden steps leading to the porch. His brother Larry is 4 and wears a faded "Flintstone" sweatshirt and was cutting an apple which he had picked up in the backyard.

Ernest Jr. is four months now; he was born 13 days after his father's death. He was sleeping serenely on his mother's bed, a beautiful, bouncy lad with curly hair; soon he began to stir and Gladys Creech put away her ironing and picked him up to nurse him.

"He just lived for his family," she said, fighting to hold back the tears. "The last time he went out on a strike we all but starved to death—he cried and told me he couldn't hold up with the union unless they fed his kids. He was good to the kids, and took the boys with him everywhere he went."

The pickup truck was still parked in the Creech driveway, half filled with junk odds and ends that he had gathered before he was killed—the broken rear window and bullet holes were still evident, reminders of sudden death.

"When Ernest wasn't working at the mines, he would take his truck and go out hunting junk to make an extra dollar—he did a little hunting and fishing. He had an old outboard motor, but usually rented a boat down at Buckhorn Dam . . . he wanted nothing more than to take care of his family."

At 3:30, the school bus stopped down at the bottom of the hill across from Carder's general store and the Creech girls started to troop in, all seven of them.

The Creech girls are all bright and alert children; their grades are uniformly good, and they are well-disciplined, the product of good parental influences. They talk about going on to college and Annetta had planned to attend Berea College in Kentucky, but is not sure now.

"Yes, they all talk about going on to college," says Gladys Creech, "and I don't know, but I'm going to do everything I can to see that they have a chance." This is a tall order, even for a woman of Gladys Creech's obvious determination.

Ernest Creech had enough GI insurance to cover his burial expenses, and was into his salary at the mine for over half a month's wages for food he had bought when he was killed. As it has done many times in the past, the local coal trade association, associated with the National Independent Coal Operators Association, created a memorial fund almost immediately and had been giving Mrs. Creech monthly payments until she started receiving the benefits due her from Social Security and the Veterans Administration. They will continue to provide her with a modest monthly sum as long as there are funds available, even though the association has no legal responsibility toward Creech's survivors.

From her Social Security and VA benefits, Gladys Creech must feed, clothe and shelter 10 children, including a four-month-old baby. Adding to her future uncertainty is the fact that the state will soon build a road through her property and she does not know where she will go; of course she can do nothing about a new place until she receives payment for her present home.

Today we look back on trial by ordeal, fire or poison as primitive. The roving goons that took Ernest Creech's life are not in a class with these. Nevertheless, it is 20th Century primitiveness, and someday people will look back upon it in wondering disbelief.

In the Aesopian language of the UMW leadership, such a technique as roving pickets is quaintly called 'organizational' or 'traditional techniques.' Anyone even slightly familiar with current events knows that the mere appearance of a picket line often serves to halt or seriously curtail business operations because of the reluctance of employes to cross the picket line whether it represents them or not.

This illegitimate union power has so corrupted labor that even the rank and file sincerely believes that it has the right to use illegal violence to enforce its demands.

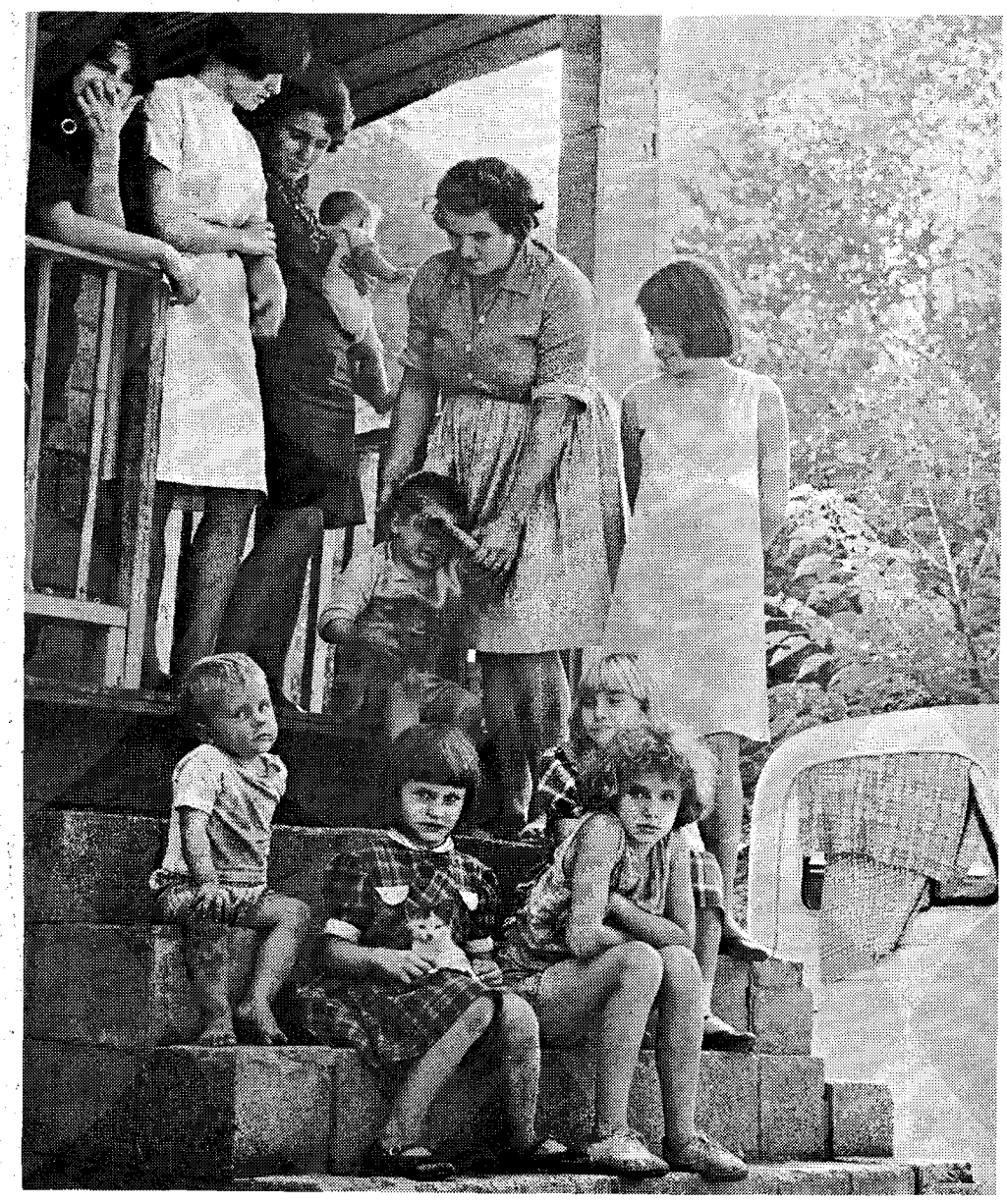
The Creech slaying was no isolated act; last year the same type of roving picket activity killed Aaron Presnell in Grundy County, Tenn., leaving another widow and 10 children. The confessed killer was released as the result of a hung jury.

Terrorism Lurks

It is not so much that the jurors in this and the Creech case were pro-union; this is a predominantly non-union area. But the juror who votes a finding of guilty knows that he does so at the peril of his life! As a result, autos and homes continue to be bombed and innocent men continue to be assaulted and intimidated, their only offense being their desire to work in the only trade they know.

The non-union mines in this region produce about 25 per cent of the nation's bituminous coal and are the economic mainstay of Appalachia. They have experienced a stable market now for the past five years, and if left alone can make a greater contribution toward the health of Appalachia than all the government welfare programs combined.

Actually, government is industry's greatest competitor down here—and there is actually a shortage of labor! The small-



Ernest Creech's widow and 10 children at their Bonnyman, Ky., home.

er mines—those employing 10 or less—are closing as many miners join the government's expanding welfare programs which offer cash, food stamps and free medical and dental care, often totaling as much if not more than the $18 or $22 per day that they earn in the mines.

Some of the larger operations find it impossible to add extra shifts because of the shortage of manpower and those in charge of the various federal, state and county relief programs actually discourage their charges from accepting employment in the mines.

Despite the general prosperity of Appalachia occasioned by the health of this bellwether industry, UMW President Tony Boyle ominously declared earlier this year, "We can no longer tolerate the plight of non-unionism in our industry." This will of course mean there will be more Ernest Creeches and Aaron Presnells and Woodrow Smiths, the latter an eastern Kentucky small mine operator who was chased uphill by UMW pickets until he fell exhausted and five bullets were pumped into him.

That is why the foul shape of terrorism is always lurking in the shadows behind most strikes. If any real effort is made by willing workers to work despite the presence of pickets, there suddenly appears crude violence in support of the strike—always hypocritically disavowed by the strike leaders. There is no mystery about the source or existence of labor union monopolies. They are born out of legalized power of lawless violence.

There is no tough riddle in the question: How can these monopolies be curbed and these monopolistic powers be destroyed?

The answer is a simple one: first subject labor union monopolies to the same prohibitory laws and remedies which are enforced against business monopolies.

Second, subject the criminal lawlessness by which strikes are maintained, to the same federal and state criminal laws that are enforced against assaulting, maiming and killing, terrorism and destruction of property, when they occur anywhere except in a labor dispute. Mass picketing and picketing that depends for its effectiveness not upon persuasion, but upon violence and intimidation, is an infringement upon liberty. Picketing characterized by violence and intimidation should be prohibited by law.

If Ernest Creech had been a beatnik, peacenik or "freedom fighter" spearheading a mob demonstration bent upon stopping a construction project or storming an Army embarkation pier, you can bet your last depreciating dollar that his killing would have evoked an impassioned New York *Times* editorial calling for the dispatching of federal troops to Leatherwood.

His cause would have then been fought tooth and nail by the American Civil Liberties Union, the Americans for Democratic Action and the National Council of Churches; we would quickly hear from the usual list of Jewish rabbis, Protestant and Catholic divines and fellow-travelling professors as they signed their names to full-page ads in his behalf.

Talkative moralizers on the subject of civil rights like Hubert Humphrey and Walter Reuther would dispatch telegrams to the bereaved family and the Voice of America would be telling Ghana and Indonesia that Ernest Creech was "killed by hate" of the type of "Dallas hate" that killed President Kennedy; CBS would send its crack TV crews to film the "shame of Kentucky" and Huntley and Brinkley and Ralph McGill would sermonize on the "cancer of racism" that infects the South.

But Ernest Creech was nobody; nobody in particular, that is. He wasn't even a Communist or a Northern civil rights agitator or a left-wing professor calling for a Viet Cong victory over American troops. Thus the Big Silence.

Maybe we have entered into an era wherein this is simply the way it has got to be. But if so, let's not fool ourselves about the nature of the change and the depth of the tragedy.

In Bonnyman, Ky., life goes on. The voice is still, but the magic of Ernest Creech's personality lives on.

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What Is the 'Fellowship of Reconciliation'?

Organized in 1914, this left-wing, pacifist group protests against the war in Viet Nam with tax-exempt dollars

From the New York *Daily News*

In May, 1963, the Internal Revenue Service suddenly revoked the tax exemption that had been enjoyed by an outfit called the Fellowship of Reconciliation since 1926. Grounds for the revocation were that the FOR, instead of being purely a religious or charitable or educational organization, had engaged in political activities from time to time.

Among these were its objections to removing some Japanese-Americans from their homes after Pearl Harbor, and its protest drives against nuclear weapons.

The Fellowship of Reconciliation in 1963 reported that it had 13,000 members, of whom 1,500 were clergymen of virtually all denominations. It was operating at that time on an annual budget of $230,000 and had a staff of 28.

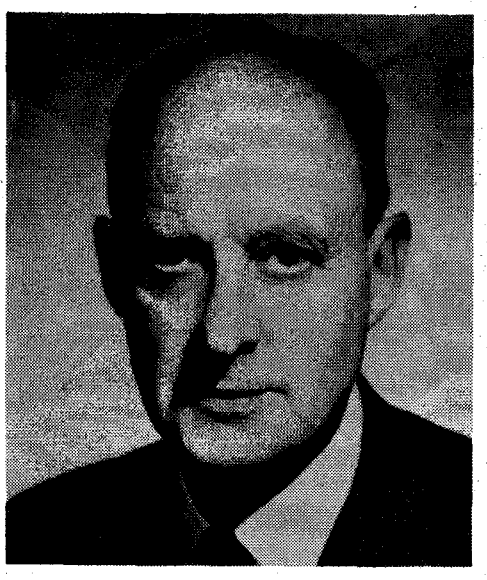
FOR was organized in Great Britain in 1914—the year World War I broke out—and claims to function on the principle that "love such as that seen pre-eminently in Jesus must serve as the true guide of personal conduct under all circumstances."

It also has urged members to join "political movements which aim at the replacement of private capitalism by a system of collective ownership." That last phrase means socialism or communism or both.

FOR's secretary in the New York area for a long time was the Rev. A.J. Muste. This gentleman for decades has been active in leftist and pacifist causes, and has had marked success in luring clergymen into such movements.

When the FOR's tax exemption was jerked, 29 of Muste's clerical friends signed a statement denouncing the IRS for the action. Among the signers were Presbyterian Stated Clerk Eugene Carson Blake, Notre Dame President Theodore M. Hesburgh, four Methodist bishops, one retired Episcopal bishop, four rabbis and Prof. Reinhold Niebuhr.

There is little if any suspicion that any of these gentlemen are or ever were Communists. But the way they rallied to the Rev. A.J. Muste, longtime friend of Reds, was impressive.



Liberal churchman Reinhold Niebuhr was among those signing a statement denouncing the Internal Revenue Service.

The IRS backed down before this attack from churches and synagogues, and on June 24, 1964, FOR's tax exemption was restored, with a rather humbly apologetic letter from none other than Bertrand M. Harding, then acting commissioner of Internal Revenue.

What has FOR been doing of late, at its headquarters in Upper Nyack, N.Y.? You can have one second to make one guess.

You're right. FOR has been agitating against the U.S. war effort in South Viet Nam—where American soldiers, marines, sailors and fliers are fighting to keep Red North Viet Nam from gobbling up the South Viets, after which Reds would grab all of Southeast Asia.

Last March 3, about 30 FOR members demonstrated on Times Square, New York City, with members of other leftist groups against the Viet Nam war effort. They carried signs calling for a cease-fire and withdrawal of our forces from Viet Nam—meaning for abandonment of all Southeast Asia to communism.

More recently, FOR passed out to Rockland County, N.Y., school children an expensively printed circular purporting to be from an organization called Massachusetts Political Action for Peace.

This thing reprints photographs of South Vietnamese warriors torturing or intimidating Red North Viet prisoners, together with indignant comments by such liberals as U.S. playwright Arthur Miller and British novelist Graham Greene.

There is no doubt that atrocities have been committed in this war by South Vietnamese. But they have also been committed by North Vietnamese—a fact nowhere mentioned in the circular put out by FOR.

Like Women Strike for Peace, the Fellowship of Reconciliation may not be connected officially with the Communist party.

But it is as effective in spreading Communist propaganda as if it were an actual Red front. The fact that it has attracted many clergymen to its membership rolls makes it that much more dangerous to the United States.

□ □ □

VIET VISITORS—When Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D.-Mass.) was on his recent tour of Viet Nam, he asked a U.S. foreign aid agent, Richard Kriegal, what his toughest problem was. "To be blunt, sir," Kriegal replied, "I wish we had fewer people coming out here. In the last 45 days we've had 35 groups."

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89th Congress: One of the Worst

By BARRY GOLDWATER

History's evaluation of the 89th Congress, if it could be read today, might shock those liberal partisans who hail the session as the greatest in years.

Consider the fundamentals, and what emerges is a frightening picture of an arrogant majority running riot. It shows a power-wise President dictating to a subservient Congress in all areas of legislative concern.

Some sense of foreboding among those most directly responsible for operating the "Great Society's" legislation "mill" began to emerge as the session gradually ran out of presidential orders and slowed to a halt. Statements by congressmen, urging a cooling-off period or pause for appraisal of what they had done, told their own story.

Most members, including the Democratic leaders, didn't know exactly what they had done. They wanted time to figure it out. As one put it, "We want to see what works and what doesn't."

It's strictly academic, but most people expect their legislators to figure out what items will work before they are rushed into law. The proper place for appraisal is in committee sessions and during debate on the floor. But that wasn't the rule in this Congress. The rule was, "Let's keep the President happy."

This rush to please dealt the deliberative process one of its worst trouncings in years. Some bills were passed without benefit of committee hearings. Others zipped through with inadequate floor debate or under "gag" rules which made effective opposition almost impossible. Still others were passed in the face of heavy evidence that they were unworkable or unsound.

History will record that the legislation rushed through in 1965 almost completed the establishment of the welfare state, with all of its cursed bureaucratic gear.

We will now learn the true meaning of federal interference. It will be a factor in our sickness as well as our health. It will be with us on our jobs and in our homes. It will encompass our cities, towns and hamlets. It will be part of the "beautified" countryside. Its tentacles will reach into our schools, hospitals and cultural areas. It will touch our pocketbooks in a way never before imagined.

In all events, history's view will not be based on the number of bills passed or on executive satisfaction. It will be based on the long-range effect of what was done. The conclusion may well be that the 89th Congress was one of the worst in our experience.

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Bobby Kennedy's Speeches Are Serving As 'Trial Balloons' on U.S. Foreign Policy

From the Allen-Scott Report

Sen. Robert Kennedy is playing an intriguing role in shaping U.S. foreign policy. He is launching "trial balloons" for foreign policy-makers in the Johnson Administration to test congressional and public reaction on controversial disarmament and political moves now under secret study.

The dual purpose of Kennedy's speeches and statements, carefully prepared with help from the State Department and U.S. Arms Control Agency, is to influence President Johnson's decisions, and to develop a wide consensus for proposed shifts in policy. If the policy changes advocated by Kennedy win wide approval, the plan calls for President Johnson's advisers to immediately press to make these proposals official U.S. policy.

Should a "trial balloon" encounter pronounced opposition, the strategy is to delay efforts to get President Johnson's approval until the criticism can be stilled or the policy altered to gain the backing of Congress and the public.

The first Kennedy foreign policy foray was his October 13 pronouncement that Red China be asked to participate in the Geneva disarmament talks in January, in line with new "political action on a grand scale" to achieve an international agreement to halt the proliferation of nuclear weapons. If the Chinese Communists accept, the New York Democratic senator argued, the Geneva talks "will be more meaningful."

Original source of Kennedy's startling proposal is highly significant. It was drafted in the office of disarmament director William C. Foster and was "leaked" to the one-time attorney general with the knowledge and approval of Foster and Secretary of State Rusk.

While the speech was not cleared with President Johnson, Kennedy showed a copy of it on October 11 to McGeorge Bundy, special foreign policy adviser to the President. According to Administration insiders, Bundy approved it but said nothing about it to the President, who at the time was in the Naval Hospital in nearby Bethesda, Md.

The "Peking invitation" is the core of a controversial "stick and carrot" China policy now being shaped within the Johnson Administration in connection with diplomatic efforts to end the war in Viet Nam.

The proposed new China policy entails the "use of U.S. force and/or economic aid and negotiations" to curb Peking's aggressive aims in Southeast Asia. The over-all "grand design" envisions bringing Red China into the United Nations within two years, clearing the way for that by bringing Peking into the negotiations to curb the spread of nuclear weapons and effect a Viet Nam settlement.

With the U.N. deeply involved in the backstage moves to both these matters, Administration policy-makers contend it would be logical to give Red China a seat in the international organization. It is their belief that the participation of Peking representatives in these negotiations would operate to blunt opposition both in Congress and by the public against Red China's admittance to the United Nations.

State Department officials, led by Assistant Secretary G. Mennen Williams, played a leading role in encouraging Sen. Kennedy to accept an invitation to South Africa in May to address the ultra-racial National Union of South African Students.

As revealed by this column in September, the occasion for this speech is the so-called Day of Affirmation on which South African students are asked to rededicate themselves to ideals of academic freedom and opposition to the government's racial policies.

Significantly, the proposed Kennedy visit is being carefully timed to follow an anti-South African conference being organized in London by Ronald Segal, friend of the senator and with ties with officials on the South African desk of the State Department.

If the Kennedy visit is permitted by the South African government—which is very doubtful—it will take place around the time the International Court of Justice at The Hague is expected to rule on South Africa's right to retain its League of Nations mandate over Southwest Africa.

The tribunal's decision is anticipated in the spring. U.S. civil rights leaders already are planning a giant demonstration in New York after the World Court acts. They expect a ruling against South Africa, and the demonstration will be staged to demand U.N. measures to enforce the decision.

Under these explosive conditions, a Kennedy visit to South Africa could do much to ignite a major crisis in arousing student and Negro fury against the Verwoerd government.

As in the case of his 1964 Toronto speech, Kennedy's speeches dealing with the "student revolution" can be highly inflammatory. On that occasion he stridently declaimed:

"We must recognize that the young in many areas of the world today are in the midst of a revolution against the status quo. They are not going to accept platitudes and generalities . . . . And we must recognize one simple fact: they will prevail. They will achieve their idealistic goals one way or the other. If they have to pull governments tumbling down over their heads, they will do it."

Sen. Robert Kennedy (D.-N. Y.), now the ranking Democrat in New York state, is also active in foreign policy.

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St. Louis Natural Gas Case

The Consumer vs. the Federal Power Commission

By RALPH DE TOLEDANO

This, you might think, is a local story. But it affects the pocketbook of every consumer. Substitute your town or city for St. Louis, substitute any regulated industry for natural gas, and it fits you. St. Louis and the Mississippi River Transmission Co. happen to be the patsies this time, but don't hold your breath. If it hasn't happened to you already, it will.

Spelled out briefly, this is the story:

St. Louis wants a good supply of natural gas for its utilities, its industries, and its residential consumers—and it wants it as cheaply as possible. But these hardly complex wants cannot be satisfied until the government, in the shape of the Federal Power Commission, has its say. And as in all regulatory agencies, the staff gets the floor first—and holds it for a long time.

Result: St. Louis has been waiting since 1962 for the FPC to get off the dime. The FPC's examiners, who believe that it's necessary to bust a monopoly in the snoot even if it means kicking the consumer in the shins, have seen to that. Protracted hearings had to be held. The chief FPC examiner ruled that St. Louis should be serviced by another gas pipeline in order to break the exclusive franchise held by Mississippi River Transmission.

Joseph C. Swidler is chairman of the Federal Power Commission.

This might make sense, except for this: It would have cost about $70 million to build a 700-mile pipeline from Oklahoma if the chief examiner had won out. This cost would naturally have been borne by the consumer. Meanwhile MRTC has unused capacity in its recently expanded pipeline facilities.

Those who should have been most eager for a break-up of the MRTC monopoly—the natural gas customers of St. Louis—were solidly against the building of this expensive and unnecessary pipeline from Oklahoma. They argued that bringing in a new company would only take customers away from the one in operation—without bringing increased supplies of gas to the area.

But the FPC's chief examiner was not interested in that. Neither did he seem to care that the duplications arising from "competition" would bring about an increase in natural gas prices to its residential and industrial consumers. The proof that a single company could produce on a fair basis can be found in MRTC's reduction of its rates, at a savings to St. Louis consumers of $3 million.

The Federal Power commissioners finally heard the case. They found that what the consumers had said all along was true. A new company *would* be compelled to charge higher rates than those now obtainable in St. Louis. And the residential consumers *would* find themselves paying $1.4 million a year more for the gas to heat their homes. They reversed the examiner by a 4-1 vote.

That should have been the end of it. But the FPC does not give up that easily. In the continued guise of looking out for the consumer, it has ordered new hearings to see if two other natural gas companies shouldn't be allowed to cut in on the St. Louis market. There is at present an unused pipeline capacity which can be put to work for a relatively small investment by MRTC, but this is much too easy for the bureaucratic mind.

There is no indication that the companies now being proposed—and fighting for a toehold in a profitable market, with a profitable rate raise probably indicated—would in any way help St. Louis decrease its gas bills, or help free the city's air of toxic pollution through the increased use of non-polluting natural gas.

How long the new battle will last is anybody's guess. But three things are certain: (1) it will be long and bitter; (2) the lawyers will make money out of it; and (3) St. Louis will have to wait for the plentiful supply of natural gas it wants and needs. And all of this because doctrinaire bureaucrats in Washington have a flea in their ear about "monopoly."

If they could find a way to do it, they would break up the telephone monopoly even though it gives good service and a reasonable rate of profit. The government watches like a hawk when the subsidiaries of American Tel & Tel attempt to change the rate structure—and this is a proper function. It would be rather silly if they asked General Telephone to string up parallel cables in order to create "competition." There are some industries in which monopoly is necessary to efficient management and low costs. The FPC hasn't learned this lesson yet.

In St. Louis and the instant case, MRTC is the supposed whipping boy. (Since I'm not a stockholder, I shouldn't care.) But is he? Or is the man getting the clobbering that pathetic figure known as John Q. Taxpayer? You figure it out.

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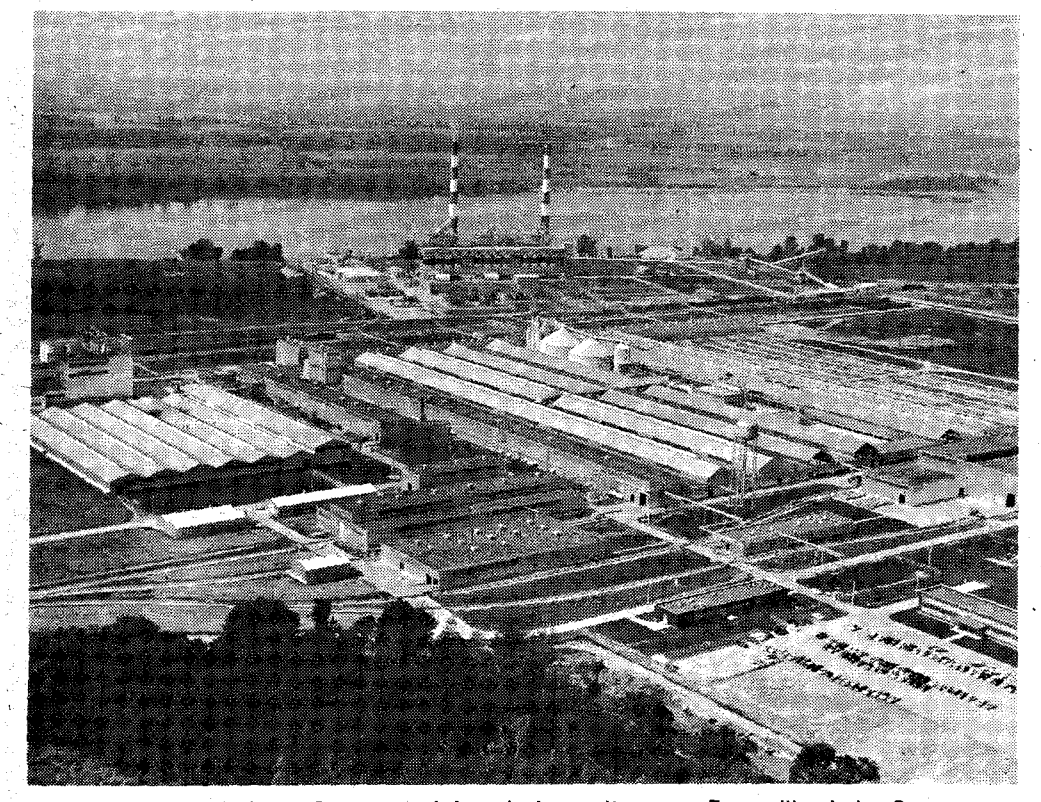

This is the Aluminum Company of America's smelter near Evansville, Ind. Government threats to dump part of the U.S. aluminum stockpile on the market may well persuade Alcoa not to attempt the price increase the industry feels is necessary.

The President and Aluminum: Another Price-Fixing Attempt

From the Chicago *Tribune*

Mr. Johnson's methods are more devious than Mr. Kennedy's, but his purpose is to use the power of the federal government to bully the aluminum industry out of a price increase just as Mr. Kennedy bullied the steel industry in 1962.

We are told that Mr. Johnson was "sputtering mad" when he learned that three aluminum companies intended to raise their prices by one-half cent a pound the week of November 1st. The next day, government officials met in Washington on his instructions to discuss means of "speeding up" the disposal of aluminum from the government's stockpile.

Nobody believes the Administration's bland assertion that there is no connection between the two items, and nobody is intended to. Industry is meant to read between the lines and know that Mr. Johnson is standing firm on the bridge, like Horatius, to defend the country against the threat of inflation.

This is why we are told that he is "sputtering mad." This is why we're told that he is worried about inflation. This is why he is threatening to dump government stockpiled aluminum on the market in order to force the companies to withdraw their price increases and prevent Alcoa, the leading company in the field, from following their lead.

This devious approach has a special advantage, from the President's point of view, in that it spares him the necessity of having to justify his actions, which would be embarrassingly difficult.

Even with the increase, the factory price of aluminum would be less than it was five years ago. What kind of a "threat" is that, especially when government spending is rising with frightening speed? Even if the price of aluminum were rising faster than the Administration's own guidelines, it could not create inflation because it is in competition with too many other materials and with producers in Canada and elsewhere.

The aluminum industry is simply the victim of Mr. Johnson's familiar desire to create an image. By pouncing on a price increase in aluminum he hopes to frighten other industries, such as steel, out of contemplated increases.

And by implying that industry can cause inflation by raising its prices, he hopes to divert attention from the government's own responsibility for inflation. Nobody can create inflation if the government doesn't cause the supply of money to rise too fast. And if the government persists in deficit spending and easy-money policies, then nobody can stop inflation. These are the truths which Mr. Johnson is hiding.

Arbitrary Stockpile Manipulation Undermines Security

By ALICE WIDENER

At a time when everybody urges discussion of the pros and cons of every conceivable subject, there is absolutely no dialogue taking place about our ownership of a diamond bigger than the Ritz. This diamond is the U. S. stockpile of strategic minerals, materials and fuels essential to our nation in time of war and for an expanding economy.

As of today, our national stockpile —acquired with American taxpayers' money and belonging to the people— is worth approximately $9 billion at current market values. Moreover, it appears that due to many important factors on the world scene—such as economic and political instability fostering underproduction in many areas, and also increasing populations with greater consumer demands in other areas—the overall value of our stockpile will continue to go up.

What should we do with the great asset we own? Keep it, sell it, permit it to be manipulated by fiat of the executive branch of the government, generally with the assent of Congress but sometimes without it?

No one person can give a single answer to these questions. But at the very least there ought to be intelligent, objective and widespread discussion of the problems involved. Instead of a national dialogue on the subject, however, there is not even a monologue. To be frank, it seems that during the last two years virtually the only layman's voice raised on the difficult topic in the press has been my own. Naturally, the technical journals have reported in detail on sales and acquisitions from and for the stockpile; so have financial publications, when there have been newsworthy happenings from time to time.

Nevertheless, it can be said correctly that never in history has a people so heedlessly owned such a gigantic asset. Their unconcern remains a mystery, for the assets in our national stockpile could, under certain circumstances, spell the difference between the survival of our economy and its virtual extinction.

On November 1 came an announcement from the White House in Texas that is highly illustrative of the public need for knowledge about our stockpile. President Johnson, angry over announced increases in the price of aluminum, called top U.S. government officials together to discuss dumping into the market large stocks of allegedly "surplus" stockpile aluminum.

This was an astonishing statement, in view of the fact that on October 28 the Department of Commerce reported an aluminum "set-aside" for defense purposes of 107,500 short tons for the first quarter of 1966 due to increased demand created by the war in Viet Nam. This amount represents an increase of 68 per cent over the 1965 first quarter aluminum set-aside of 64,000 short tons. Recently, the Commerce Department predicted "a certain pinch" in 1966 of aluminum supplies for civilian use. The 107,500 short ton set-aside amounts to 9 per cent of the total aluminum industry shipments forecast for the first quarter of next year.

It doesn't require much imagination to foresee what could be the likely aluminum situation—despite our present big stockpile—if the war in Viet Nam were to continue for the next 10 years, as is presently being forecast by Administration authorities.

In another equally important situation, Congress authorized just prior to adjournment the stockpile sale of 200,000 tons of zinc. Though the Administration recently abolished existing quotas for the import of lead and zinc, there has been very little more of these strategic items coming into our country from abroad, despite the high prices we are offering.

More and more, it appears that a potentially serious situation is materializing, one to which I have tried to call public attention during the last two years.

Basically, it is this: Due to underproduction in two-thirds of the world area brought on by inefficient Socialist economies and chaotic political conditions, and also due to increased consumption by expanding populations in advanced nations, we are in danger of drastic shortages of the materials we need for our own flourishing economy.

Moreover, the same factors are affecting other advanced nations and they are more and more being forced to rely on us and our immediate neighbors in this hemisphere for what is needed in rapid development. This overall situation makes it imperative that we Americans bend every effort to hasten the development of our own underdeveloped nation. We must take inventory of what we own and could develop inside our own borders, including Alaska.

Only 34 per cent of our own territory has been adequately surveyed. We should help the brilliant technologists, scientists and experts in the U.S. Geological Survey and in private industry to do their utmost toward quickest possible modern development of the United States.

Meantime it would be a grave pity, worse, an economic crime to permit any kind of arbitrary manipulation of our stockpile assets, either by government or by industry, for purely political or for selfish reasons. No government official, not even the wisest, can predict accurately under changing modern political and technological conditions which strategic material is in "surplus" quantity or short supply.

All that can be said with certainty today is that we Americans own a $9-billion stockpile and are not paying the slightest attention to it, leaving it to "George"—that is, to government entirely—to decide what is what. This is an unnatural situation and it is unprecedented. Under our form of government, the people not only have a right to know, they have an obligation to know, for Americans believe that basic wisdom resides in the people.

When are we going to wake up to the fact that we own a diamond bigger than the Ritz in the form of a national stockpile of strategic minerals, materials and fuels? When will the important subject of what we are going to do with it becomes a topic for discussion in the press, over radio and TV? Are we really so rich we can blithely ignore a problem vital to our survival and development? Have we grown so irresponsible that we are willing to put blind trust in fallible trustees of our huge national asset, no matter how well-intentioned and honest they may be?

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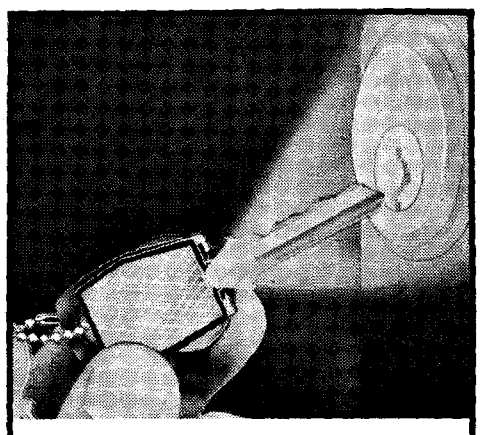

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Aftermath of Hayneville

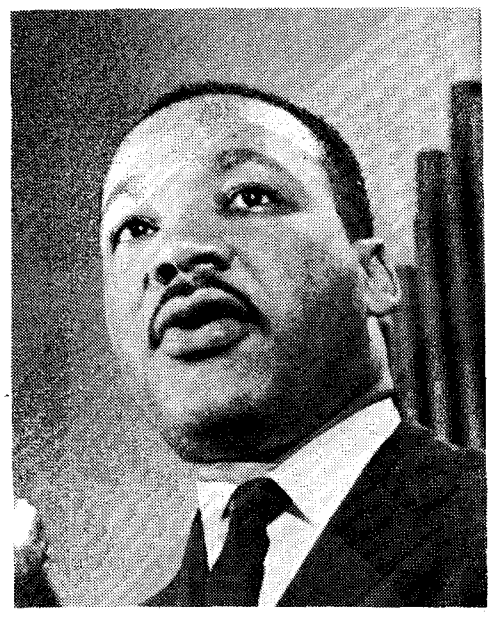
Should the Jury System Be Radically Altered?

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

This is the year of Runnymede, and alas, it is the year of Hayneville, too. Martin Luther King is calling upon Congress for laws that will make federal cases of state offenses. The Supreme Court is being pressed all over again to toss out convictions returned by biased juries. And all of a sudden the local jury system itself, as an institution of American jurisprudence, has caught the innovators' eye.

As a good many scholars have pointed out, Magna Carta's famed Section 39 ought not to be taken as the fountainhead from which the jury system emerged. Juries were known in the days of the Carolingian kings; in a rudimentary form, a jury system came to England with the Norman Conquest; long before John put his seal to Magna Carta, the right of a free man to be put to "the lawful judgment of his peers" was beginning to have a significant meaning.

Nevertheless, it is to Magna Carta that we look for the roots of our own Fifth, Sixth and Eighth amendments.



The Rev. Martin Luther King wants to make federal offenses of many crimes now handled under state law.

The Great Charter of 1215 dealt with fair punishment, stable courts, the necessity for witnesses, speedy justice, and administration of "the law of the land" by competent judges. Out of these medieval beginnings came the whole precious system we cherish as "due process of law," and no component part of that system, until quite recently, had been regarded as more important than the ringing phrases that begin the Sixth amendment:

> **"In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed . . . ."**

It is not a bad idea, in the angry aftermath of the Hayneville trials, to reflect upon the antiquity of the jury system. No one was really amazed when the twelve good men and true, all white, came back into their Alabama courtroom on September 30 and found Tom Coleman not guilty of killing Jonathan Daniels. Neither was anyone astounded, three weeks later, when another jury, equally white, found Collie Leroy Wilkins Jr. not guilty of killing Viola Liuzzo. As Holmes once remarked, juries are "extremely likely to be impregnated by the environing atmosphere." The environing atmosphere of Lowndes County, in the autumn of 1965, had precisely the result Holmes had in mind.

Now the cry is being raised that the two trials were fiascoes, travesties, miscarriages of justice, and the word is out that civil rights groups will unite in demanding new federal legislation to make such acquittals more difficult. In Dr. King's description, it would become a federal crime "to brutalize, murder, or otherwise intimidate persons in pursuit of their constitutional rights and civil rights workers aiding them in this pursuit." With the unwitting help of a few more Hayneville juries, the Congress might even be persuaded to adopt such a law.

At the risk of seeming to condone the Alabama verdicts, a voice should be raised in behalf of the long view. The federal system that has left predominantly to the states and the localities the definition and punishment of crime has served this nation well. Over the years, it is true, a number of "federal crimes" have been created, but in each case the Congress has gone to some pains to base its enactments upon a constitutional foundation. Robbery of the mails, transportation of stolen automobiles, kidnappings across state lines, the illicit distilling of whisky—all of these federal offenses arise rationally from some federal power.

The frustrated civil rights leaders, understandably chagrined at the freeing of Coleman and Wilkins, offer no such justification for the federal intervention they are seeking. The slaying of young Daniels, the cowardly assassination of Mrs. Liuzzo were in every sense local crimes. A federal interest in "persons in pursuit of their constitutional rights" is a tenuous interest at best, and it could not be invoked without a major upheaval in the federal structure.

Perhaps the trials of Coleman and Wilkins might have ended differently in a federal court, before a jury chosen from wider horizons than those of Lowndes County. This is idle speculation. The defendants have been tried and acquitted and cannot be tried for these crimes again. The important thing now is to preserve faith in the system itself: Local crimes, local juries.

Surely there will be times, as Mr. Justice Black remarked in the Quarles case ten years ago, when prejudiced jurors will betray the cause of justice. But it is equally true that many times in our history juries of plain men, strong men, have resisted hysterical pressures to convict the innocent or to acquit the guilty. The system is not perfect; but in the 750 years since Runnymede, it is merely the best that man has devised.

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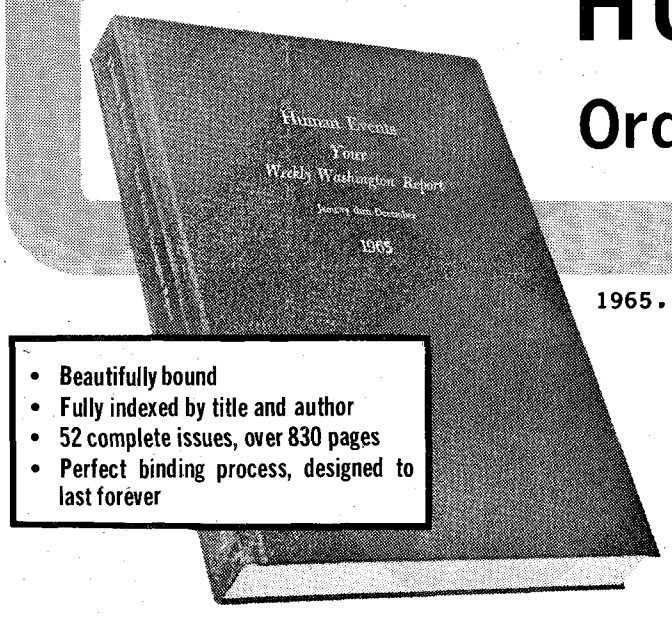

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Bound Volumes indexed: July-December, 1963, $18. April-June, 1963, $18. January-March, 1963, $18. Second six months, 1962, $15. First six months, 1962, $15. Second six months, 1961, $15.

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Meddles in Viet War

Justice Douglas Goes Far Afield

From the Rockford (Ill.) *Morning Star*

Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas has always been an outspoken man, but in denouncing the military measures this country has felt itself forced to take in South Viet Nam, he has gone much too far, and has rendered a disservice to the nation he serves at the highest judicial level.

The learned justice, speaking to a weekend audience at the State University at Stony Brook, N.Y., said that there can be no military solution in Viet Nam. "The problem," he said, "can only be solved at a political level. The way to increase Chinese influence in Viet Nam is to do as we are doing —a military venture . . . . There is no military solution."

Without asking the basis for Justice Douglas' expertise in this complicated matter, it is only fair to inquire what a justice of the Supreme Court is doing meddling in matters that relate so closely to the President's role as commander-in-chief and to the Congress, which has approved the President's decisions.

The court is the third arm of government, and as such has always stood aside from involvement in decisions affecting the disposition and employment of the armed forces. When the nation is at war, certainly it can do without advice from members of the judiciary as to how that war should be conducted.

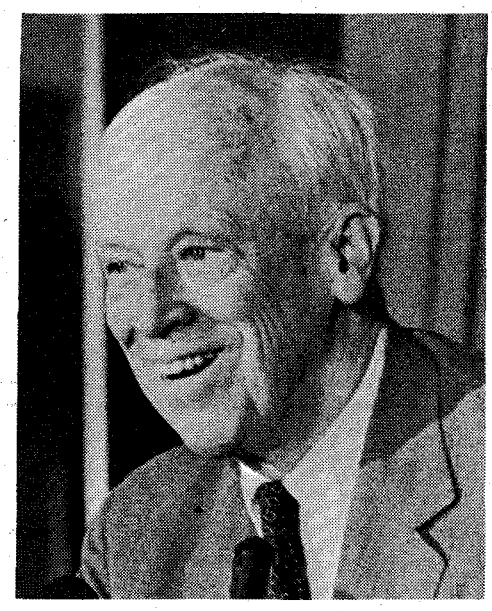
Norman Thomas, CIA Agent

From the Richmond *News Leader*

Mr. Norman Thomas courteously disagrees with our columnist, William F. Buckley Jr., on the issues paramount in Santo Domingo. In our Forum today, he takes Mr. Buckley to task.

The pamphlet he has sent is an orthodox performance of the school of thought that asks, why let cynical and corrupt generals rule, when cynical and corrupt Socialists are willing and able? In short, it is a defense of the anti-Communist purity of former Dominican President Juan Bosch—who no doubt was the kind of president Mr. Thomas six times aspired to be in the United States.

No notice need be taken here of these sentiments. However, it is certainly curious Mr. Thomas is so vehemently opposed to U.S. intervention in the affairs



Norman Thomas' Institute for International Labor Research was given $395,000 by the CIA-supported Kaplan Fund.

of the Dominican Republic. The pamphlet which he sends with his introduction is published in New York by the Institute for International Labor Research, an organization of which he happens to be chairman. The secretary-treasurer is one Sacha Volman, a Rumanian refugee now a citizen of this country. The institute is a tax-exempt "educational" organization.

Slightly more than one year ago, this Socialist outfit came under fire in tax hearings before a committee of the House of Representatives. Together with unspecified grants from Harvard and Brandeis Universities, the institute received in 1963 $395,000 from the J. M. Kaplan Fund of New York, also a tax-exempt fund.

A story in the New York *Times* on Sept. 3, 1964, revealed that the $395,000 was by far the largest grant that the Kaplan Fund had made that year, according to its tax report. At the same time, the fund reported that it received a mysterious sum of $395,750, identified only as "Receipts Not Reported Elsewhere." Was this evidence of an in-and-out transaction?

At a stormy House hearing chaired by Rep. Wright Patman, representatives of the IRS testified that Kaplan Fund had not had its tax exemption revoked because the foundation was being used as a "conduit" for CIA funds. The inescapable conclusion is that the CIA funnelled $395,000 into Norman Thomas' Socialist Institute for International Labor Research. Moreover, indications were that similar financial arrangements had been in effect for a number of years. The question is: What for?

Well, the Institute for International Labor Research has been interested in the Caribbean revolution for quite a while. J. M. Kaplan, organizer of the fund, is a wealthy financier, former president of the Welch Grape Juice Co. who spent a decade in Latin American sugar-producing countries.

In the late '50s, Kaplan, through his tax-exempt foundation, organized an ambitious propaganda organization in Costa Rica: The Institute of Political Research. Principals in this operation were the Romulo Betancourt gang—Jose Figueres, Haya de la Torre, Juan Bosch and Sacha Volman. When Trujillo was assassinated, the shop moved to Santo Domingo.

Rumors abound that when Juan Bosch returned to the Dominican Republic, his election was bought and paid for by the CIA, using well-established techniques of buying and intimidating an ignorant and illiterate populace.

At any rate, the first thing that Juan Bosch did was to turn the direction of state-planning activities over to the American, Sacha Volman. To do the job, Volman set up a *private* organization, Inter-American Center for Social Studies. Like magic, funds materialized from the Ford Foundation and the Parvin Foundation of California. According to the New York *Times*, funds also came from the Agency for International Development—the foreign aid branch of the U.S. State Department.

Although the story had been given out by the Bosch government that the socialization of the Dominican Republic had been entrusted to Sacha Volman because he was an "anti-Communist," the same Sacha Volman was the first person kicked out of Santo Domingo after the coup of September, 1963, because of his Marxist ideas.

So on the one hand Sacha Volman is secretary-treasurer of the Norman Thomas group, which received $395,000 from the CIA, and on the other he is director of the Bosch regime outfit, which was supported in part by U. S. foreign aid. In both cases, the intention was the same: to impose an anti-capitalist ideology on a defenseless nation by U. S. government intervention.

The explanation, of course, is that the halls of U. S. policy are filled with contending factions, interventionists all. Mr. Thomas would prefer to have all the intervention on his side.

□ □ □

TECHNOLOGY—Two Hungarians looked at the streets of Budapest after a heavy snow. "It's a disgrace," said one gloomily. "When will they get rid of all this snow?" "But didn't you know?" replied his friend. "They are employing the new method invented by the Soviets!" "What on earth is that?" asked the gloomy one. "Why, the sun, of course!"—As told by North American Newspaper Alliance writer Jerry Klein.

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SPOTLIGHT on CONGRESS

"The delegates to a recent Afro-Asian people's solidarity organization spent the entire morning session denouncing the United States and Great Britain, and then lunched (for free) on United States frozen chicken, United States rice and British canned fruit."—Rep. John Dowdy (D.-Tex.)

Unheralded War

By REP. JAMES GROVER (R.-N. Y.)

We've got the cold war with the Communists. We have a war on poverty, a war on crime, a war on pollution and others. But the other war you hear very little about is the war on the taxpayers.

Looking Ahead

By REP. LESLIE ARENDS (R.-Ill.)

In reviewing the work of the last session, Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield announced that in the second session beginning on January 10 the Congress should "spend less time on new legislation and more time correcting oversights in the legislation we have just passed." He candidly said the Congress "must tighten up the hasty enactments" and rectify "a number of gaps and any number of rough edges, overextensions and overlaps." That is what we should do. But I fear that is not what the Administration is planning. The indications are that President Johnson intends to press on for the repeal of Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act, for a minimum wage and an unemployment compensation bill. The fight over "rent subsidies" and the "teacher corps" is certain to be renewed. "Truth in packaging" and "truth in lending," firearms control and transportation measures are in the offing. From all appearances Johnson's program for the next session will be a continuation of this "Great Society" revolution.

Closed Otepka Hearing

By SEN. STROM THURMOND (R.-S. C.)

To its record in the Otepka case of security laxness, deception of Congress and the public, and the use of "Gestapo" tactics, the State Department has now added the only remaining element of a police state, the secret trial.

Camp Atterbury

By REP. RICHARD ROUDEBUSH (R.-Ind.)

The Administration's Job Corps project at Camp Atterbury, Ind., has proved unworkable and an extravagant waste of taxpayers' money. But it won't be scrapped because of the Administration's desire to continue it and send good money after bad. Costs of the so-called "War on Poverty" do not concern the spenders of public money, and plans are now under way for shoveling $7 million additional into the Atterbury fiasco in the next 12 months. One reason this program hasn't been scrapped despite its utter failure is, of course, the patronage gravy train. Today, there are more payrollees at Atterbury than there are Job Corpsmen. Many of these are drawing down salaries ranging from $8,000 to $20,000 a year. Grandiose plans for enlarging the Atterbury program have been issued almost daily, with more than 2,600 corpsmen scheduled for enrollment next year. If the ratio of employment increases accordingly, the people of Indiana and the rest of the nation will be footing the bill for thousands more deserving "Great Society" politicians.

Vanishing Tax Cuts

By REP. GEORGE HANSEN (R.-Idaho)

Despite the loudly heralded but deceptive tax cuts, total direct taxes take almost 30 per cent of income, compared with 24 per cent 10 years ago. Indirect taxes have increased until the price of some items represents almost as much tax as materials, and some, such as cigarettes and alcoholic beverages, are far more tax than product.

Family Socialism

By REP. JACK EDWARDS (R.-Ala.)

The anti-poverty program's Job Corps is having some problems because corpsmen seem to bring their socially unacceptable habits into the camps with them. So now comes news that the anti-poverty people plan to bring young couples into centers where the whole family could be trained to take its place in the "Great Society." "We would refurbish the whole family," says the Job Corps director. Mothers and fathers would both be given training while their children were in government nurseries. They say some criticism is expected. I am sure of it.

Political Poverty

By REP. MARK ANDREWS (R.-N. D.)

Not long ago . . . five Indians from North Dakota travelled all the way to Washington to thank Sargent Shriver for the wonderful work he was doing for their people. Representing Fort Totten Reservation . . . was one Dave Garcia—the practicing lawyer who is being paid $900 a month plus expenses as director of the Community Action Program, has a secretary getting $300 a month, and receives other expense funds to run the program . . . he should certainly, I would think, be most grateful to the poverty program for furnishing him with such a good job. Some people wonder if his trip down to Washington was paid out of Community Action funds—leaving that much less money for the people who need and are supposed to get help!

Frankly, there are some of us who have tried to make this program work. When the appropriation for it was before the House, I introduced an amendment to provide that not more than 10 per cent of these funds be spent for administration purposes. But I couldn't get my amendment past the Administration. Then because of the serious question as to whether this program is being operated solely to support the political faithful rather than to help the needy people, the Senate tried to amend it by putting all employes under the Hatch Act, which would prohibit their partisan political activities. But this also was turned down!

Expensive Days

By REP. CHARLES JONAS (R.-N. C.)

I should like to point out that during the first 100 days of the last fiscal year, this government spent $245,000 a minute and that has now gone up in one year to $266,000 per minute.

Federal Government Textbooks!

By REP. CHARLES TEAGUE (R.-Calif.)

The 1964 Civil Rights Act established an agency, the Community Relations Service, to help mediate racial disputes. It had no other purpose. But, in a recent confidential memorandum, the service suggests:

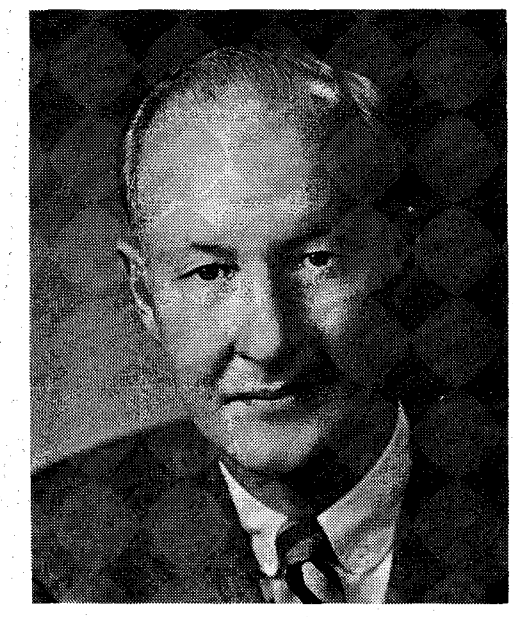
"Once the educational and informational campaign is solidly under way, we should conduct a systematic effort to contact all publishers and school boards to encourage their publication and adoption of textbooks *conforming to established standards.*"

The term "established standards" is, of course, a somewhat less than subtle way of saying that the Community Relations Service proposes to set standards and censor the reading materials of our school systems.

It is the feeling within the agency that the history books do not give fair treatment to Negroes. This may or may not be true, but the issue involved is not one of civil rights, it is one of censorship rights. It is a proposal that would place an agency of the federal government in the role of a re-writer of history books.

It is no secret that the Office of Education in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare is making plans for federally written textbooks and a federally controlled curriculm. If the civil rights agency is successful in its proposal to re-write history books, precedent would be established for acceleration of the plans being promulgated by the Office of Education.

The question is simply this: Should the responsibility of writing, or re-writing textbooks used by our children remain with qualified educators, free of federal influence, or



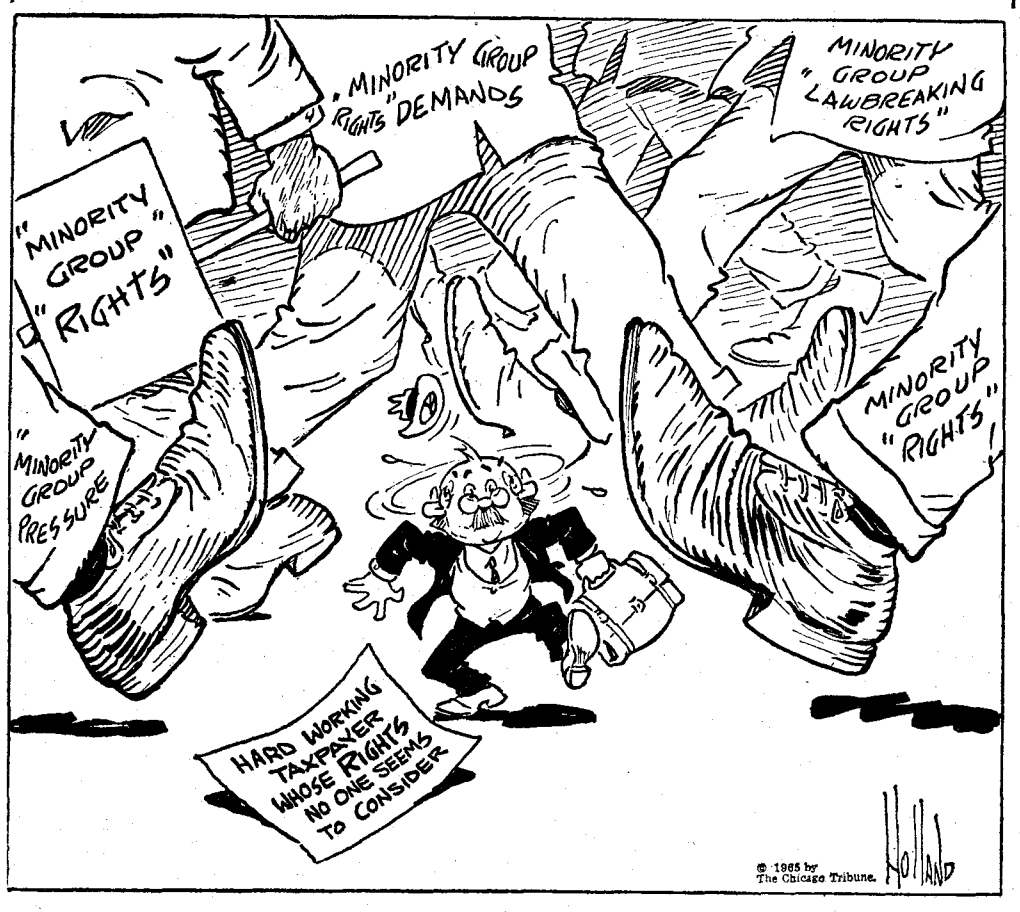
REP. CHARLES TEAGUE (R.-Calif.)

should it be handled by the federal government?

There is a precedent, of course, for having the central government specify the kind of textbooks, especially on history, which are to be used. The Russian Communists adopted this method many years ago. Russian textbooks not only leave the impression that every important invention or discovery in history was Russian in origin, but the Communists have exercised completely their power to omit from textbooks references to ideas, incidents, and individuals not in favor with the ruling regime at the time the textbooks are written.

It could happen here. Under federal textbook-curriculum control, brainwashing of the population from childhood on could become a function of the federal establishment.

THE REAL MINORITY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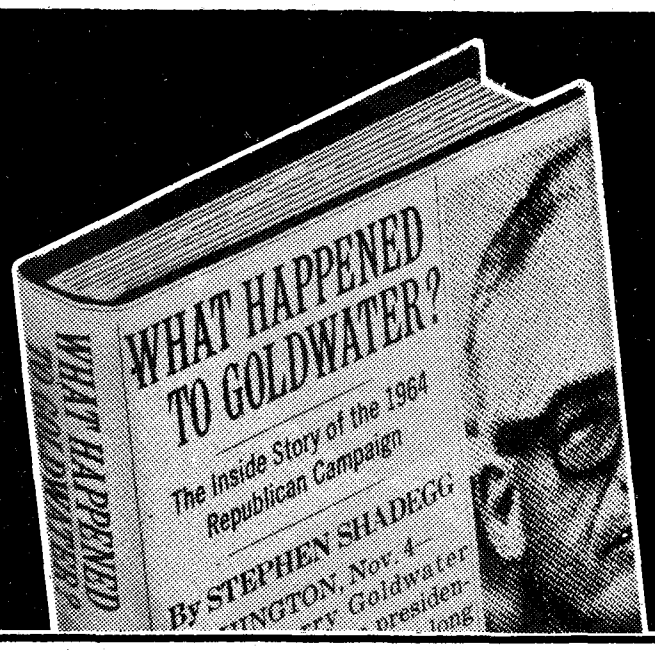

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Shadegg has worked in 13 Republican Senatorial races, found Goldwater much the most effective and cooperative campaigner. But as the time for a decision drew near, Shadegg sensed a deep uneasiness in his old friend. Once a candidate, Goldwater seemed a changed man. His easy good humor almost vanished. The burdens of his new role pressed down on him. Men around Goldwater saw the sacrifice he was making. He loved the Senate, only went for the big job because millions of us begged him to.

Shadegg traces Goldwater's whole career for background, reviews the '64 primaries, really zeroes in on the campaign months. He makes you privy to scores of significant events never reported till now. He discusses over 600 key people in the Goldwater campaign—people you yourself may have worked with – and he records with a most unpolitical candor his views on many key figures in the Goldwater high command:

The Secret Meeting of September, 1963. Scheduled to attend: Goldwater, William Buckley, Brent Bozell, Dr. Charles Kelley. Surprise (and uninvited?) guests: Denison Kitchel and William Baroody – who, Shadegg maintains, were by now the new palace guard eager to keep Goldwater away from his old advisors. The story, leaked to the *Times,* reported that the Goldwater-for-President movement had "just repelled a boarding party from the forces who supposedly occupy the narrow territory to the right of the Arizona Senator". Who leaked the story? Shadegg lines up the clues.

New Hampshire. 5 ways to lose a primary. Peter O'Donnell's prophetic words. Dishonesty on TV: the infamous film clip by the Lodge forces. Raymond Moley's shrewd counsel.

Rus Walton's Startling Survey – another exclusive in these pages. Amazing index of American voters' political naivete. (Only 10% found LBJ too Liberal – while 4% found Goldwater too Liberal!) Survey also shows gut issues that really stir voters, points up rich opportunities for conservatives.

The "Think Tank" on the 3rd Floor. How they kept Goldwater isolated. Bitter battle between the Think Tank and farm-belt Goldwaterites: Think Tank wins – and Goldwater loses every farm state.

Shadegg's Post-Election Questionnaire – to 1,308 GOP delegates in '64. Their views on the campaign: Did Goldwater change? Did he lack warmth? Did he help other Republicans? How much damage did GOP Liberals do?

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